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EAST & WEST.

VOL. I.

DECEMBER, 1901, 1902 & 1903, No. 2.

EDUCATION AND THE UNITY OF THE RACE.

THE problems offered by the various conceptions attached to such a phrase as the "Unity of Mankind" are manifold and complicated; and some of them are almost certainly insoluble. That all men, when regarded from the anatomical and physiological points of view, constitute a single species, and that they are separated by many impassable barriers from every other animal species, may be considered as a firmly established scientific induction. But biology still remains, and probably always will remain, unable to tell us precisely by what process of evolution this kind of unity has been brought about. Nor is it a matter concerning which scientific authorities can be expected confidently to agree, when the inquiry is raised whether this biological oneness originated in some single centre, or in several centres more or less widely separated in space and time.

But this same phrase has a social and ethical significance which is much more important to determine for all those whose studies and whose conduct have regard to problems of the really highest value. The wide prevalence at the present time of a certain group of ideas and feelings, and of vast and effective forces, connected with the renewal of the strife for *Empire*, are aiming at the increased unifying, politically, of the different portions of mankind. But above all, and more interesting and worthy of concernment than all else, is the question: How is the spiritual and moral unity of humanity—the oneness of good will and of efficient practical interest in the welfare of all men—to be secured?

The natural basis for the moral and spiritual unity of the race is laid in the very constitution of man. It consists in that sympathetic and appreciative feeling of the species which psychology recognises as belonging in some measure to all the higher animals, but which in man's case is broadened, intensified, and elevated by all those intellectual and emotional characteristics,

the possession and cultivation of which raises man above the other animals. Aristotle, in the *Nicomachean Ethics*, calls attention to the fact that *men*—all and everywhere—naturally greet one another with this feeling of sympathy; slaves, however, are excluded from its benign effects, because they are really not human, but are to be regarded as mere things, and so not as subjects for treatment according to right moral principles. If ethics has made any advances since Aristotle's time, they consist chiefly in what Professor T. H. Green called "Impartiality of reference to human well-being."

The natural feeling of sympathy with the human species has always been reinforced or modified chiefly by three classes of influence. These are commerce, religion, and education. From time immemorial, and among widely separated peoples, commerce has had a powerful influence upon the moral and spiritual unity of mankind. In mediæval Europe, as well as elsewhere, the travelling merchant was early the recipient of hospitality and friendly intercourse, as well as the promoter of these virtues. On the whole, in more recent times, the extension of commerce has probably been favourable toward the union of all men in bonds of a social and ethical kind. Just now, on the contrary, there are unmistakable signs that the spirit of a rampant and unscrupulous commercialism is working everywhere a notable increase in the spirit of race hatred. The present century, with its millions of men armed and equipped for strife in the interests of commercial supremacies, is destined to show, I believe, that the modern "Imperialism" which it is building and guarding, is as little qualified to promote the united welfare of mankind as was the Imperialism of Rome, of mediæval Europe, or of the Moguls in India, or the Tartars in China.

Religion ought to be the most powerful and effective promoter of that spirit and practice which are befitting to the highest moral and spiritual unity of mankind. Its fundamental truths of the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood, and equality before God, of all mankind, as well as of the duty and privilege of every individual man to contribute as best he can to the common stock of human welfare, conserve the most essential characteristics of this

unity. But alas ! how often in the history of human development has the conflict of religious opinions and practices increased the hatred and contempt of men for one another, and even involved whole nations and eras in the most cruel and relentless of strifes ! Just at present, moreover, that zeal of propagandism, which is proper and even essential to the true religious spirit, has become so entangled and enveloped with the other interests represented by the strife for commercial Empire, as to lose much of the beneficent influence which, if kept "pure" and combined with wisdom, it might exercise to promote the increase of the moral and spiritual oneness of humanity. Even Christianity, as judged by its leading representatives, has far too often and too largely forgotten the real nature of that kingdom which its Founder aimed to establish over all men.

It is of the influence which education is having, and may in increasing measure be expected to have, upon the moral and spiritual unity of mankind that I now wish to speak more particularly. We may not depreciate the other two influences which have been mentioned—especially the influence of religion. But I think it may reasonably be claimed that we must rely chiefly, for the present, upon education, to diminish that growing spirit of division and hatred which the strife of the nations for commercial supremacy is fostering to such an appalling degree. In order that education may have this ameliorating and improving influence, it must have a certain character of its own. It must be education of a certain kind, and pervaded with a certain spirit. It must be education that lays due emphasis upon fact and science, to be sure ; but that lays more emphasis upon the character of the manhood which it contributes to produce. And to do this, of course, brings education close to the moral, if not the theoretical side of the religious life.

I will, therefore, lay down in a somewhat dogmatic way this proposition, and then briefly explain and defend it. The extension of a truly "liberal education" is the most powerful influence which can be employed, just at present, to promote the moral and spiritual unity of mankind. At once it is made necessary for us to fix the conception of a *liberal education* so-called ; for there are several kinds of education which tend toward the separation rather than the unifying of the race.

By education I do not understand the mere imparting of information extending to a certain prescribed list of subjects, or the fairly complete mastery of a limited number of text-books ; much less do I understand a certain *minimum* or *maximum* of "cram," such as is made necessary for the candidate who aims to pass the examinations required for a University degree. The rather is a genuine education accomplished only as a development that is (a) fairly symmetrical, (b) always in large measure individual, because it must come from within instead of being imposed from without, and yet (c) under training by superiors ; for we may properly exclude any claims set up by the "self-made men" so-called. This very conception emphasises the fact that all genuine education is "self-made," that is, it is chiefly effected by the self-exercise of the individual's own forces, when once those forces are aroused. But, on the other hand, the education of the individual cannot fit him for a place and an influence in the social community unless it is to a certain large extent conducted by other and superior individuals.

The word "liberal," in its more primitive meaning, designates whatever belongs to the freeman and the gentleman as distinguished from the base-born or the slave. It is conceivable, then, that an education which bears this title might serve to emphasise those forms of feeling and conduct which separate rather than unite the different portions and classes of mankind. By a not improper turn to its meaning, however, we may employ this word for whatever befits, or serves to make fit, the man who is truly free. Thus we may understand by that liberal education which is a chief, if not *the* chief promoter of the moral and spiritual unity of the race, such a symmetrical development of the individual under wise and effective training as sets him free from what is unbecoming and unfit for the highest type of manhood. A truly liberal education, is an education that sets the man free (a) from ignorance, (b) from superstition, (c) from bigotry, and (d) from that dominion of the lower appetites and passions which induces vice.

To be freed from ignorance, not so much by mere learning as by becoming ; wise through learning how to adjust one's mind and one's conduct to the facts and truths of nature and

of history, and to the moral and religious ideals, is an essential part of a truly liberal education. Superstition and bigotry—that misdirected fear of unworthy objects which usurps the place of a just and reasonable reverence, and that obstinate and irrational clinging to one's own beliefs and opinions which is unfavourable to the exercise of firm, intelligent, but charitable convictions—are destroyers of the spirit of unity among mankind. But a liberal education has for one of its principal aims, and one of its most valuable results, to destroy superstition and bigotry. We cannot, indeed, adopt the view of Plato, which held that ignorance is the source of all vice, and that men who truly discern the good will certainly realise it in their conduct. But, on the other hand, we cannot fail to acknowledge the influence of those forces which aid in the symmetrical development of the Self, to moderate and control the appetites and passions. The education which becomes the free-man is an education which frees himself first of all, in order that he may assist in freeing those less highly educated than himself, from the dominion of vice.

The detailed description of an educational system which shall have a truly liberalising effect upon all who share its benefits is a study in pedagogics. To enter upon the subject in the present article would take me much too far afield. But I believe that the fairly satisfactory accomplishment of this study is not especially difficult. It certainly affords the most important practical problem which comes before the student of education at the present time; and in all the countries where educational problems are most earnestly discussed, this particular question is made conspicuous, if not pre-eminent. It will serve the purposes of my argument sufficiently well if I offer a few suggestions as to the values of the different main subjects required for the constituents of such a truly liberal education as is adapted to promote the moral and spiritual unity of mankind.

It may reasonably be claimed, I think, that the different races which constitute the one human race are drawn together in some important ways, when they become acquainted with each other's languages and literatures. The spirit of sympathy and of appreciation is quickened and illumined when men can speak with

one another. For one of the great distinguishing characteristics of the entire human species is the ability to devise and to employ language. And few things bind human minds and hearts more together than does the bond of common, intelligible speech. The process which is going on everywhere, and which seems destined to make a few of the more highly developed forms of speech prevalent over the whole earth, will doubtless have no inconsiderable effect in promoting the moral and spiritual unity of mankind. But when his training in other languages than his own unlocks the treasures of literature which have been stored by the choice minds of other peoples, the process should inspire the warmest and most appreciative sympathy with those who would otherwise seem like aliens and foreigners. For in all literatures there is much which is beautiful and good, and which fitly and forcefully arouses the feelings of appreciation and admiration. I am made morally and spiritually one with those who would otherwise be strangers to me, when I understand and approve their wisest thoughts, their loveliest and morally best emotions and deeds.

Science, too, in the broadest meaning of the word, is a factor in the modern liberal education which tends to unify mankind. Perhaps, just at present, there are no other educational pursuits more afflicted with the unfortunate spirit of exclusiveness, intellectual pride, and even bigotry, than "*the sciences*" so-called. An excessive, an enormous over-estimate of the value of physical facts, and of the knowledge of those facts, is quite too prevalent in educational circles; and it certainly is not likely to contribute to the growth of the spirit of unity among mankind. For how can the people at large, or even the multitude of those who share the advantages of a liberal education, ever attain the knowledge, or the sympathetic appreciation, of the *minutiae* of the various scientific "ologies"? But genuine science, both in its spirit and in its discoveries and attainments, is a true liberaliser of the human mind, and a valuable promoter of the moral and spiritual unity of the race. It shows to the mind all the different portions and classes of mankind in their relations to that vast encompassing environment, and those long backward stretches of history, which are substantially alike for them all.

It teaches the arrogant Anglo-Saxon what his own beginnings really were ; what his characteristics of body and mind really are ; and how short a time it is since he was just emerging from a barbarism that was as low and cruel as that in which he now finds those whom he considers essentially "inferior races." It teaches the salutary truth that all men are much more alike than unlike ; and it points plainly towards the morally worthy conclusion that Nature or Providence (use which term you will) does not design, and will not permit, that any one race should dominate the earth ; but the rather has intended, and will secure, that all races shall dwell together upon the earth in a *status* of moral and spiritual unity.

But, in my judgment, thorough and persistent studies in ethics, philosophy, and comparative religion, are most essential to a truly liberal education. It is by such studies that we know what are the most fundamental likenesses, the most profound, important, and lasting interests of the entire human race. The first impressions of an extensive survey of the field covered by ethical studies are indeed confusing, and almost bewildering. What an amazing variety of opinions and practices touching the right and wrong of human conduct ! How are thoughts, feelings, and deeds, most highly commended by some ethical codes, most condemned and execrated by others ! Upon what do men differ more fundamentally and fiercely, and over what do they strive more tenaciously and more cruelly, than over questions of justice and equity ? But a more profound investigation of these matters emphasises anew the essential and unchanging unity of mankind. *That* men have moral feelings and form moral judgments at all, and that they attach so much importance to these feelings and judgments, is a much more significant mark of their unity than is their difference over precisely *what* those feelings and judgments should be, a sign of their irreconcilable diversity. And what is true of the moral nature, is true also of the profounder mental characteristics and of the religious nature of man. None of the other species of animals is either moral, metaphysical, or religious, as all men are. The fuller knowledge of the precise character of this moral, metaphysical, and religious nature which, in reality, unites all

mankind and separates them from all other known forms of mundane existences, belongs to a liberal education. And in this way a liberal education contributes to the unifying, morally and spiritually, of mankind.

But a more precise determination of the ways in which a truly liberal education promotes the moral and spiritual unity of mankind must now engage our attention. First of all, it may be affirmed that such a training of the individual as has just been described tends to free men from their prejudices toward one another. That sympathetic feeling of the species to which I have referred as furnishing the natural and universal basis for the higher unity of man, in its more primitive manifestations, operates within a comparatively narrow area. It appears first as the bond of tribal sympathy. It is due to prejudice chiefly that its earlier beneficent effects are so much confined. The man on this side of the mountain cannot look upon the being who dwells over the mountain as altogether one of his own kind. The drawings of mind and heart toward a social kinship do not reach across the river; nor can they bind the tribes on either side, whose speech and dress and customs differ so widely, into any form of moral unity.

It is not primitive or savage men alone, however, who fail to acknowledge the beneficent work of this sympathy with those of their own kind. In modern Europe, with all its boasted advances in intelligence, civilisation, and Christian institutions, and in spite of the multiplication of marital and commercial ties, the different nations are lamentably lacking in all genuine and effective sympathy with one another. German and Frenchman can scarcely imagine in any really effective way that they are of close kindred; and both look across the narrow channel of water that separates them from others of their own bone and blood, with feelings of dislike and depreciation which they take little pains to conceal. Nor are the dwellers in that Island Empire slow to return these expressions of contempt and hatred with feelings of the same kind. Within the narrower confines of the Empire of Austria and of the Kingdom of Italy, the different races and geographical areas are far enough from the disposition to greet and to treat each other as parts of one political union—

not to say, as a great moral and spiritual unity embracing all mankind.

It is prejudice, born of and fostered by ignorance, that is the principal and more permanent cause of this narrowing of the influence from the sympathetic feeling with one's own kind which is planted in the constitution of man. This is undoubtedly true of the multitudes of the common people. With the Government officials and the merchant princes the reasons for the prevalent contempt and dislike of other countries and other civilisations than their own lie in prejudices which, because they are to a less degree due to excusable ignorance, are morally more blameworthy. On the whole, however, we may assume that the larger measure of race-hatred and contempt of foreigners, which is so prevalent all over the world, must be ascribed to prejudices that themselves arise in ignorance. This is especially true, perhaps, of those failures of sympathetic appreciation which characterise so much of the intercourse between the men of the Orient and the men of the Occident. Here the physical, social, and religious differences are so marked as to appear at first to set the two at the very antipodes morally and spiritually, as they are geographically. The more profound, permanent and ideally valuable likenesses of the Eastern and Western worlds remain hidden from the ordinary observer.

It is to a truly liberal education of the representative men of the different races and nations that we must look for relief from that ignorance which engenders the prejudices that embitter the feelings and debase the conduct toward one another of the different divisions of mankind. The very *liberality* of education is tested by its power to free the mind and heart from these prejudices. For the contempt and hatred, or vague dread, which these prejudices promote, the genuine culture of the individual substitutes—not a sentimental and inordinate admiration, or a morally weak disregard of the faults and defects of men of foreign birth, but an intelligent and just appreciation of both the good and the bad, which they have in common with ourselves and with all mankind. The rule for the estimate of others, and for the guidance of his own practice, which the liberally educated man is always ready to apply, may be framed in a combination

of two old-time mottoes: "I, too, am a man"; and "I deem nothing that is human alien to myself."

An intelligent, wise, and virtuous love of mankind, an "enthusiasm of humanity" which is productive, not of rapid emotions but of lasting, beneficent results, cannot be attained without knowledge of men. But this knowledge must include something higher, and much more, than is gathered by those who know men only from the points of view held by commerce, or by the leaders of civil and military affairs. Academic knowledge of human nature is frequently enough referred to as a poor and ineffective attainment. The despute shown to it is doubtless often deserved. But psychology, anthropology, and especially ethics and religion, have truth to tell concerning human nature which society cannot afford to disregard or to despise. And it is this truth which is adapted to free men from those prejudices against others who are not of their own tribe, class, nation, or even *clique*, which so almost universally dominate the commercial, civil, and military leaders. It is to a truly liberal education, then, that we must chiefly look for deliverance from that spirit which confines and thwarts the progress of the spirit of unity among mankind.

It is also by raising men above those considerations which tend to cause division and hatred that a liberal education promotes the spirit of unity among men. It is true that the achievements and rewards of scholarship are themselves sometimes made the occasion for a separation of friends, and even for a bitter enmity between rivals. Academic halls are not, in all instances, the homes of perpetual peace. The professors in the Universities, Colleges, and higher schools of learning are not always influenced by the same considerations which lead to partisan bitterness and unscrupulous strife amongst other classes of men. But it is not easy to deny that, on the whole, the tendency of education—and the more strongly, the more truly liberal the education is—lies in the direction of freeing the mind from the excessive estimate of the value of those things, by contending for which mankind is always falling away from that higher unity of spirit and practice which both morality and religion demand. This benefit may be claimed even for the earnest search of knowledge for knowledge's

own sake. For knowledge, unlike power and wealth, can scarcely be hoarded in miserly fashion ; and it certainly cannot be wrested by violence or won by craft from the possession of one's fellows, as can land and silver or gold. But the truly liberal education does not encourage the pursuit or the dissemination of knowledge for its own sake, but the rather of knowledge for the sake of the beings whose manhood is improved and elevated by knowledge. A liberal education has also chiefly in view the social relations and social interests, as represented by the cultivation given to the individual mind.

The modern theory of education is, not improperly, emphasising those scholastic pursuits and that kind of scholastic culture which increases the individual's fitness for his 'life-work'. This theory is satisfactory, and its tendencies are salutary, only when interpreted in a most liberal way. The *life* to which a liberal education contributes can never be lived by bread alone ; or, indeed, by the possession and enjoyment of any amount of material goods. And its whole tendency is to free the mind from the dominion of those ambitions and desires which control the uneducated man. It is these ambitions and desires which constitute the perennial sources of hatred and strife among men. It is the freedom from them which education imparts that, at least in a negative way, ministers to the growth of a moral and spiritual unity of mankind.

I think it may be claimed as a precious fruit of a liberal education that it sweetens and enriches the mind by introducing it to, and familiarising it with, those thoughts and truths that are the common factors in all human progress. The different types of civilisation among men find great difficulty in appreciating one another. To the European the Chinaman appears as a barbarian ; and to the latter the former appears—and justly enough, too—in a no more admirable or amiable light. Even in the United States, where interchange of views and social intercourse are so rapid and unchecked, there are large sections of the country and multitudes of the inhabitants who think thoughts, and hold truths and propagate practices, that are largely or quite foreign to other sections and other multitudes. The East and the West, the North and the South, are advancing along lines that do not seem likely to converge in the immediate future. This is of itself no sign or

source of weakness, but rather of the opposite. But the increasing strain upon the sympathetic appreciation of each other's needs and interests is likely to be the cause of weakness, if not of serious division and strife. In both England and the United States, the growth of wealthy corporations and the growth of labour unions are apparently getting ready for a contest which will divide, as never before, the material forces of these nations. In Germany, the energies of Imperialism and the energies of Socialism are waxing strong with their faces set against each other. And most threatening of bloodshed and disaster, severe and wide-spreading, is that apparent determination of those civilisations which consider themselves more advanced, and of those races which hold themselves to be superior, to impress, with the strong hand of armed force, if necessary, their form of civilisation and their views and customs concerning right and wrong government, upon the less advanced civilisations and the so-called "inferior races." In all this, Great Britain, the United States, and Germany, are to-day the chief and most blameworthy aggressors.

But Germany, the United States, and in inferior degree Great Britain, are forward among the nations in the promoting of education. And as long as the education which they promote can be made to comprise the characteristics of a truly liberal culture, it may be looked to with confidence as the antagonist of the otherwise divisive and disturbing influence of these nations. For the thoughts and the truths that chiefly concern all real progress are common to mankind. They are not the monopoly of any especially favoured people. They cannot be secured as the sole privilege of any so-called "superior race." One of them is very, very old, and exceedingly well established by all the processes and examples of human progress; although it seems necessary to have it illustrated over and over again to the great discomfiture of the rulers of the peoples. It is *righteousness* which conserves and exalts a nation; it is sin and crime which will finally work the ruin of any people.

There are other principles of ethics and laws of economics, politics, and of the physical and social evolution of man, the knowledge of which represents the slowly accumulating stock of human experience. It is the work of the minds devoted to

scientific research and to careful speculative thinking, aided by information which history furnishes, to discover and unfold these principles and laws. Education informs the student as to what they are, and as to what may reasonably be expected to follow from the breaking and the keeping of them. And since their application is dependent in a secondary degree upon human conduct, a truly liberal education tends to prepare the individual for his life, in all its relations to its physical and social environment, in the most intelligent, safe, and beneficent way. But who, that is observing and also well-informed, can for one moment believe that the various Governments and peoples of the world are making any very serious, not to say successful effort to discover the right way for men to live together—in commerce, in politics, internal and international, and the various forms of social intercourse which belong to the increasingly varied and frequent mixture of the different races and classes of mankind? I say *governments*, in the first place. For now, as always hitherto in the history of man, it is the rulers and leaders of the people who, by their ignorance, avarice, ambition, and hatred of others, are chiefly responsible for the sufferings and failures and crimes of the multitude.

I am confident that no other influence is likely to be so salutary to effect an improvement in the condition of the people, so far as this condition is dependent upon human conduct and is itself influenced by the prevalence of an effective sympathy of man with his fellow-man, as is the extension of a truly liberal education amongst the leaders of the people. This is especially true of countries where, as in the United States, the Government is supposed to be under the more direct control of the great body of citizens. For here, even less than elsewhere, the citizens who make and enforce the laws are distinctly below the best standards, in respect both of their knowledge and of their practice; if they are not below even the average of their fellow-citizens. But everywhere the fatal fallacy seems to be entertained that a knowledge of ceremonies, of sword-practice and fire-arms, of accounts and official routine, with perhaps the acquirement of several languages, is education enough to fit a clever man for a position among the governing classes. Nor is the case much improved by insisting upon a degree from the University, unless

the education imparted by its *curriculum* is of the truly liberalising sort.

Let, however, the mind once become thoroughly imbued with, and practically convicted of, those great thoughts and truths which belong to humanity, and which the entire history of human progress has illustrated and enforced, and it is set upon the highway toward freedom from the beliefs and practices that divide and embitter the feelings of men.

And once more, a liberal education promotes the moral and spiritual unity of mankind because it makes prominent in all our estimate of others, and in all our dealings with others, the supreme worth of character. Indeed, in the wider and higher uses of the word, the cultured mind comes to regard *character* as the only possession which has a real and lasting worth. And wherever he finds this, in spite of all other differences of colour, customs, language, social and political status, and even scientific and literary attainments, the liberally educated man recognises the appearance of that which is most truly in kinship with his own best and truest Self.

All over the world, even in the most aristocratic and monarchical countries, the aristocracy of wealth is coming into prominence. In a few instances only have the wealthy learned the lesson embodied in the French maxim, *Noblesse oblige*; in fewer still have they learned how inferior in real power and lasting value is that which they possess, when brought into comparison with the possession of a noble and benevolent manhood that has been subjected to those processes of training which elicit and unfold the human capacities and aptitudes. But a truly liberal education, while it does not affect to disregard wealth and is quick to recognise the obligations under which the needs of education may place it toward the wealthy, always assigns the superior value to character. The present tendencies of the spirit of accumulation, and its sequent adulation of wealth, are, as I have already said, divisive and productive of strife. But the exalted estimate of character, and the relative disregard of all inferior values, tends to soothe the spirit of strife and to bring about a moral and spiritual unity.

Education cannot impart wealth to all its devotees; it cannot

even promise wealth to a selected few. But it can contribute in large measure to the development of character; and through the improved and elevated manhood of the few, it can improve and lift up the average character of the multitudes. For it does not teach men to struggle to gain, at all hazards, what only a few can have; it, the rather, teaches men to prize most that in which all may share, and of which each may contribute something to every other.

We are accustomed to hear much boasting of the enormous advances which have been made during the last half-century—in the control of disease and of the forces of nature, in aggregate health and population, and in the condition of the common people. And doubtless there is abundant cause for such boasting. But there is one especially foreboding sign of the times which must alarm and sadden every mind that cherishes a high regard for the welfare of mankind. Meantime, race hatred has been growing at a frightful pace. About this, I think, there can be no doubt. And just as little doubt about the cause of this frightful and fateful growth. Its cause is to be found in avarice, in the struggle of individuals and nations for commercial supremacy. I am confident that the estimate popularly set upon the prevalence of a spirit of moral unity of mankind is distinctly lower, and the hope of realising such a unity appreciably weaker, than it was thirty or more years ago.

This increasing prevalence of the spirit of contempt and dislike of others, this increasing armament of the nations in the struggle for commercial supremacy, this apparent determination of one or more favoured races to dominate other so-called "inferior races," is *not* progress; it is not even the necessary precondition of real progress. It is unwholesome, largely unintelligent, almost wholly immoral; and it is foreboding of the direst consequences to mankind.

But it is not the province of this article to predict woes, or to threaten the Divine judgment; but, the rather, to exhort. University men, those men who have enjoyed the privileges of a truly liberal education, and who know the courses of human history in the past and the laws of man's physical, moral, political, and social well-being, are obligated to be of the nobler mind.

Within every nation or people they should exercise their influence to harmonise conflicting elements, to mediate between hostile classes, and to promote the spirit which unifies and elevates mankind. In the larger way of the intercourse of nations, the men of a truly liberal culture must raise their voices and exert all their influence to moderate the growing contempt and hatred of one another by the different nations. For they know—or, at least, they should know—how much of good there is in every people; and how truly all the essential badness which each discerns in those foreign or hostile to itself, belongs to all, if not in equal measure, at least in sufficiently large measure to ensure a generous cloak of charity.

At the present juncture in human affairs the educated classes do not anywhere seem to be exercising the beneficent and illumining influence which might justly be expected from them. Into the reasons for this I cannot enter at the present time. They doubtless all flow from that spirit of the time which it is the business of education either to enlighten or to contest. It will have served the purposes of this article to have called attention to some of the relations in which a truly liberal culture stands toward the growth of a moral and spiritual unity of mankind.

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THE WEST INFLUENCING THE EAST.

THERE is much in the recent action of the Western nations on those of the Far East, which should furnish matter of serious thought to the Indian student. That the action is forcible, cannot be doubted. The forces which prompt it are not so simple. Some people will assign them to the irresistible attack of civilisation on uncivilised countries. But is it quite reasonable to call China and Japan uncivilised? They are not the forces which inspired the crusades. The modern missionaries of the great religion of the West use quite other methods than battle-ships and treaties. Others will say that the inspiring force is trade. And no doubt it is trade, but trade under new conditions, viz., a new form of national competition. The merchant adventurers of several Western nations in former days competed for the trade of the East, but they were rivals in establishing factories in the countries to which they resorted, and in securing the good-will of the Oriental powers. Afterwards, no doubt, the Governments of the West were drawn in to the aid of their traders. But now the process is reversed. The competition begins with the Governments who seek to lay hands on territories to which their traders shall have preferable access. Africa is mapped out into "spheres of influence." Even America, the Republic of the Far West, seizes the Philippines. Russia, in which trade is not a dominating impulse, advances on Manchuria and Corea, after absorbing a large part of Central Asia. It would seem that the Western nations, after attaining a high standard of prosperity, find that to maintain that prosperity with increasing populations, they must extend themselves over the waste places of the earth, that is to say, the places of which the inhabitants are not civilised enough to make good a claim to be left alone. Under this stress, nations, which have no turn for colonisation, betake themselves to colonising. Nation is jealous of nation.

If Russia takes possession of Port Arthur, England must have Wei-hai-wei, and Germany Kiao-Chao, while France is busy elsewhere. These things do not make for peace. It is true that a movement has lately been set on foot for the establishment of an universal peace. The prime mover is the Tsar of Russia, forgetful of the recent suppression of the liberties of Finland, and of the five thousand Chinese men, women and children hurled into the Amur at Blagovestcheusk. Whatever may be said in defence or explanation of the spirit of the time, it does not seem that high politics have much regard to the moral principles which are the highest in every religion worthy of the name. The domestic morality of the day does not seem to direct international politics. The Peace Conference ends in a farce, and the Concert of Europe in unspeakable discord.

Now, how do these things present themselves to the Eastern nations, whom they most concern? What is the attitude which these nations oppose to the storm which blows upon them always from the West? In the forefront of them are China and Japan. Of these, Japan is a new power, created by an astonishing internal revolution from old conditions which are already forgotten. China is as old as the hills, unchanged and desiring no change. Both are alike in steadfastly opposing the inroad of the West. But their ways of meeting it are entirely different. Japan is virile and of firm purpose, China is weak and hysterical. China holds to bows and arrows as weapons of defence; Japan readily admits all the best results of science and then bows out her teachers. The Japanese are inspired by a single definite foreign policy for which they are prepared to fight. Their troops stand in line not unworthily with the best troops of Europe. Their soldiers are equally brave and self-controlled. They know how to use battle-ships. Their public men have a high standard of honour, and so in a wonderfully short time and with astonishing strength and prudence, Japan has placed herself on a level with the nations of Europe as an independent self-contained Power, entitled to the same consideration as any one of them. There is no talk of "spheres of influence" in Japan.

Of course, none of these things can be said of China. Japan and China are alike in this, that they abhor foreign interference. But how altogether different are their attitudes towards the inevitable

pressure of the West upon the East! The mass of the Chinese are peaceable, industrious, far from unintelligent, tolerant even of strangers who do not excite their prejudices. But they have no cohesion and no policy except to exclude the outer world, which will not be excluded. Their ignorance is profound, their superstition incredible. Their officials are hopelessly corrupt, and these officials are not a separate caste but are propagated year by year from the very loins of the people. Their few honest statesmen are in danger of their lives from a bigoted court. Their armaments are antiquated, their ships half equipped. When exasperated, their reprisals are at once barbarous and futile; when overcome they resort to absurd subterfuges. Under the punishment of the armed West, China flounders like a wounded whale. And when the punishment is over, she reverts to her monstrous self-conceit, and restores her contempt of the "foreign devil" and all his works.

There is something pathetic, no doubt, even in the antics of this huge people. The methods of the armed West in China have been not a little rough. China is not likely to love foreigners who loot her palaces and carry off the astronomical instruments from Peking. In approaching her, might not the "Concert of Europe" substitute for the jealousies and violence of co-operating (or clashing) battalions, some international Board of Commerce which should authoritatively explain to and obtain from China the trade facilities which are all that the West wants, or ought to want? However that may be, China should understand that it is impossible, in these days, for any people to shut their door against the rest of the world, and to persist in political darkness which results from time to time in frightful massacres; and that the only way in which the most backward of great peoples can put itself on a level with other peoples in dealing with international affairs, is the way of internal reform.

The lesson to be drawn from the comparison of China with Japan is not merely that national character has an enormous influence on the fortunes of a nation, but that by the reconstruction and readjustment of internal forces a people may pass almost at a bound from an antiquated and obsolete social organism to a state of constitutional order and armed power which entitles it to claim a place among the leading nations of the world. The

consequences of total inability to attempt such re-constitution are seen in China.

There is another great Asiatic continent which differs greatly in its historical conditions from both China and Japan. It has been said above that the nations of the West feel themselves under a necessity (the ancient Greeks would spell it with a large N) to find new outlets for their trade and room for their colonies in countries on a lower plane of civilisation. A new propulsion to the movement is found in geographical exploration, increased facilities for ocean travel, the need of finding employment for enlarged armaments, naval and military. Now the peculiarity of India is that she is protected from this modern movement because a hundred years ago she passed under the dominion of one European Power. Other Western powers, which for a time contended for a footing in India, have long since withdrawn, and as long as the strength of England stands good, India is absolutely safe from territorial aggression. This is an undoubted fact of vast significance. It is not the object of this paper to discuss the merits or demerits of British rule in India. On the one hand, it may be asserted that the government of a country by a foreign race is always and everywhere an evil. On the other, it may be argued that whether foreign domination is an evil or not, depends on the previous history of the country, its social and political condition when the foreign domination came in, and on the spirit in which the foreign rulers have discharged their duty to the country they rule. Have they established law and order, safety of life and property, pure administration of justice, liberty of speech and conscience, honest administration of the revenues, suitable and sufficient means of education, if not perfectly, yet, as well as circumstances permit? Many questions of detail may be argued under this last proviso, and free criticism must be welcomed when it is fair criticism. But that is not the object in view here. The object is rather to find an answer to the question, whether the course of events which brought all India under the administration of one great European power, and that a just and tolerant power, may not be a blessing in disguise? It is not only that after the first quarter of the nineteenth century, internal peace was restored, and the very necessary rest from a period of internecine war and devastation obtained, but rather

(for the present purpose) that a barrier has been erected round the land frontiers and coasts of India, which has secured this vast Asiatic continent during the past half century from territorial aggression, and the marking out of spheres of influence. No one who has studied the history of India in the eighteenth and the first part of the nineteenth century, and who considers the elements of discord which still exist within her, can suppose that India, if left to herself, would be less open to the incursion of various rival powers than China is at present. Nor is it probable that the centrifugal constituents of her population, if left to themselves, would have been capable of such a concentrated effort as has raised Japan to her present strength. But three-quarters of a century of rest from disorder and safety from attack have given India time to make a considerable advance towards consolidation and unity of political life. May it not be said that her secure and peaceful development, under the shadow of a great European power which holds her in trust, is, in all the circumstances, an episode in her long and troubled history, of which the practical advantages are more obvious than the theoretical misfortune?

K. C. S. I.

THE REPRESENTATION OF INDIA IN THE IMPERIAL PARLIAMENT.

AS a very old Parliamentary hand, and further, as one who has been immersed in Indian politics for something like thirty years, I trust that my present readers will forgive me if I venture to begin this paper with a bold prophecy. The time will come—I think before very long, though I can hardly hope to live to see it—when India will have her fair representation in the Imperial Council of that British Empire of which she is already a loyal, willing, and most valuable member. When I say “fair representation,” of course I do not mean necessarily in arithmetical proportion to her population or her area—for many other considerations will doubtless have weight in that ultimate settlement. But it is, not of that ultimate settlement I am going to write to-day—I am thinking of something more immediate and more practical.

Even in existing circumstances, with a Parliament elected by, and therefore directly representative of, only certain electoral units in the United Kingdom, there might be, and ought to be, a much larger and more organised representation of India than has hitherto been the case.

I am not now speaking of the representation of India by retired Anglo-Indians; though I should be dishonest if I did not say frankly, that such representation has been, and ought to be, far more valuable to India than has generally been realised by many, probably the majority, of native-born Indians. I can honestly say for myself, that during the seven years that I was in the House of Commons, I was in the first place member for North Kensington, and considered myself bound first of all to think of the needs and wishes of my constituents in North Kensington; but at the same time, I never forgot that it was to India that I owed very largely the chance of sitting in the House at all—I always felt

that the knowledge and experience gained during my Indian career was in the nature of a sacred trust, confided to me by the Almighty, to be used for the good of my Indian fellow-subjects; and never on one single occasion did I wilfully turn a deaf ear to the representations of any of them, and I venture to believe that on many occasions I was able to be of use to them. Though I have no authority to speak for any one but myself, I am quite certain that the same claim might be advanced by many of those retired Anglo-Indian officers who sat in the House of Commons with me—it was especially true of Sir Richard Temple, Sir George Campbell, and Sir William Wedderburn, of whom the first sat on my own side of the House, and the two latter sat opposite to me.

But I am now thinking rather of the direct representation of India by gentlemen born and bred in India, of Indian race. Three such gentlemen—all of whom, I am glad to say, have been personal friends of mine—have essayed this great rôle; of course, I mean Mr. Lal Mohan Ghose, Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, and Sir Mancherji Bhaunagri. Two of these, Sir Mancherji and Mr. Dadabhai, have succeeded in entering the House of Commons by the votes of British constituencies; and the third would have succeeded but for very obvious reasons to which I shall refer presently. Sir Mancherji Bhaunagri has not only succeeded in entering the House, but he has established his position there, and also in his own constituency; I can speak with some authority on both points, for I have not only heard Sir Mancherji in the House of Commons, but I have also attended his local meetings in Bethnal Green, and spoken for him in each of the contested elections of 1895 and 1900. Mr. Dadabhai, on the other hand, has failed to maintain the position he at first won; and the reasons for this are, in my opinion, very similar to those that made it impossible for Mr. Lal Mohan Ghose to work his way into the House of Commons.

All these three gentlemen have shown themselves to be possessed of extraordinary abilities. Mr. Lal Mohan Ghose was a platform orator of a very high order; his command of the English language was remarkable, his delivery more fluent than that of nine out of ten English M. P.'s, his idiom correct and graceful, and even his accent was almost identical with that of a highly-educated English gentleman. His forensic abilities also were very great indeed—

in fact, sometimes almost too great, for a platform-audience above all loves a speaker who is transparently sincere, and is consequently sometimes unfairly severe on a speaker who makes his points too cleverly.

Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji possessed abilities of quite another order, but equally effective in obtaining for him the votes of an English constituency. He impressed one as a thoroughly sound and solid man of business—just the sort of man whom the British elector loves to send to the House of Commons to overhaul the estimates and check the extravagance of the Government. On exactly that appearance, that manner, and that reputation, Mr. Hanbury is now a Minister of the Crown !

Sir Mancherji Bhaunagri, like Mr. Lal Mohan Ghose, is an excellent speaker; and he possesses, moreover, the valuable faculty of at once impressing you with his absolute sincerity. His political knowledge and experience have been particularly wide and varied. I do not know whether Sir Mancherji would admit that I was the first person that suggested to him his remarkable fitness for the work he subsequently undertook and has so successfully carried through—but this I can say for certain, that long before any public mention of the possibility of such a career for him, and when he was only known in London by his work at the Imperial Institute and in similar things, I had “spotted” him as the best possible man for a truly Imperial representation of India in the English House of Commons. I remember well saying publicly at that time, that if Mr. Bhaunagri (as he then was) had the means and the pluck to contest an election, I would readily guarantee to find him a seat—and I expressed the same opinion to the whips of the Conservative Party at the time. And the object of this paper is to suggest that there ought to be, and there might easily be, at least twenty such men in the House of Commons; and then we should soon have some in the House of Lords as well—and an immense step in advance would have been taken in the direction of Imperial Federation.

And why is it that Sir Mancherji has succeeded where Mr. Lal Mohan Ghose and Mr. Dadabhai have failed? I pray you, my Indian reader, do not run away with the notion that I,

well-known to be both a Tory and an Imperialist, am desirous of persuading you that it is necessary for you to be a Tory and an Imperialist in order to get into the House of Commons, and to maintain your position there when once you have got in. No : but it is necessary for you to have a little common-sense, and not "fly in the face of human nature," as I think both Mr. Ghose and Mr. Dadabhai did in their appeals to British electors.

Let me examine these three cases a little more, that you may see what I mean. Here we have three capable men, all of great electioneering ability, all good speakers, all able and willing to spend large sums of money on their electoral contests, and to devote their lives to the great object of winning the election. I believe that a very large number of constituencies in England—but of course they have to be chosen with care and full knowledge—would be only too delighted to give a willing ear to the advances of Indian gentlemen fulfilling all these conditions, if properly introduced and guided. But then comes the great and crucial question—what general policy, in addition to the particular policy of special care for the moral and material progress of India, will win that election? You will observe, I am not now speaking of the rightness or the wrongness of any policy ; I am pre-supposing that the policy you will adopt is certain to be in your opinion right, or you would not adopt it. Also, I am not offering any opinion as to whether the prejudices of the British elector are praiseworthy or not—I am only dealing with obvious facts. Now, I ask you, is it common-sense for a gentleman of Indian birth to appeal to a large body of electors of British birth to elect him as their representative, and at the same time, to worry them by showing an inclination to belittle the services rendered to India by the kith-and-kin of these British folk? Their sense of justice will, I admit, induce them at first (even if with a little sneaking reluctance) to investigate the charges made against their kinsmen, with full vigour and severity. But if, in any one case those charges are found to be untrue or exaggerated, however unintentionally, then at once human nature steps in, and the perfectly natural and reasonable tendency that every human being has to prefer to take the

side of his own kin will at once arouse the keenest resentment and indignation. I have always believed that the cardinal error of those good and clever men, Mr. Ghose and Mr. Dadabhai, was, that they were never sufficiently generous in their appreciation of the great work done for India and the people of India by the Empire—nor did they ever appear to feel much pride in being citizens of the greatest and most venerable Empire of the world, an Empire of which Indian-born subjects ought to be (and I am sure in a vast majority of cases are) as proud as English-born or Colonial-born subjects. Of course, I am only expressing my own individual opinion, and I may be quite wrong ; but it always seemed to me that herein lay the great advantage, which, as the event has proved, Sir Mancherji Bhaunagri possessed over the other Indian candidates, who were in other respects doubtless equally well qualified to represent their fellow-countrymen in the Imperial Parliament. From the very first, Sir Mancherji took his stand on the grand idea of the Imperial solidarity of the British Empire, and the belief that its interests and its welfare and its honour are as dear to the hearts of its Indian-born subjects as to its British-born and Colonial-born subjects. And I believe that if we could find twenty such capable and honourable Indian gentlemen as Mr. Lal Mohan Ghose and Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, equally willing with them to devote their energies and their fortunes to this great task, and also possessing that sympathy with the Imperial idea and that genuine love of the British Empire that has endeared Sir Mancherji to the British electors of Bethnal Green, we should have no difficulty in finding for them seats in the British Parliament.

ROPER LETHBRIDGE.

ORIENTAL AND OCCIDENTAL IDEALS.

IT is to be the aim of this Review to get Britain and India to know one another—to see how life appears in each other's eyes. Yet, when one comes to think of it, how little England, or Ireland, or India knows of itself! Putting aside the difference between class and class, between caste and caste (which of itself is vast enough), what does the Aberdeen shop-keeper have in common with the Leicestershire hunting squire, or the country rector's daughter with the chorus-girl of the London stage? Or, to push the inquiry into another region, what difference of habits and customs does not pale into insignificance, beside the unfathomable gulf that exists between a home with low ideals and a home with high ones? In our own lives, even, how profoundly and how rapidly our points of view change! Have you not felt, sometimes—not often—a feeling, sudden and mysteriously attractive, come over you?—and you have exclaimed to yourself — “So things used to be when I was nine! So the sun used to glow, in those days whose freshness has gone from me!”

Times change, and so do we. But time passes quicker as we grow older; Southey's saying is true—that however long we live, more than half our life is over by the time we are twenty. Perhaps, for the Orient, we might alter “twenty” to “fifteen.” And if we are to appreciate each other's points of view, we must take account of this, and remember that by far the most important period to study is the long, impressionable period of childhood and adolescence. It is then that the mind is free to feel and to observe. It is not yet absorbed in the work which presses upon us later in life, of abstracting itself from its surroundings and seeking refuge in God or in itself. It has time to look at the world; to enjoy it, and to be interested in it. And so this first twenty or fifteen years, when impressions are fixed, is of supreme importance.

Now, the characteristic of them is pre-eminently this—that the division of the race into two castes, which carries with it such tremendous consequences in after life, is then at its weakest. The child very soon gets to know the fact, and more or less of the details, of such a division. But the point is, that it does not attach very much importance to it. A child has a quite alarming faculty of seeing through to the root of things. Christian preachers, when they expatiate on the child-like virtues, generally dwell on the docility, the yielding nature, the trustfulness, of children. But one is not sure that the special excellence of the typical child is not just this—that it will not tolerate a sham. Do not let us be mistaken. A child is intensely imaginative, and will make of a pebble a fairy princess. But that is not a sham. The pebble does not clamour to be made a princess of—to that dignity it is elected of free grace. Let anything come along, however, asserting itself to be that which it is not—and its answer from the world may be a polite murmur of bored acquiescence, but the child's reception of it will be succinct and discouraging. The Emperor in Andersen's story marched complacently through the streets of his capital until it was observed by the children—"But His Majesty has no clothes on!"

A child's love is the strongest and intensest of all, because it is absolute, whole-souled admiration of the loved object. Later in life, affection like this is overshadowed by sexual love which is an unsatisfactory thing, because it is essentially based on the maintenance of imperfection. Even the model husband does not exactly want to be like his wife; the most affectionate wife would not quite admit the aim of her life to be likeness to her husband. The relation is fundamentally rooted in disunion and faultiness: All the force of sexual attraction is mere blazing fireworks, in comparison with the loving pressure of a child's caress. The unspoilt spirit of the young has entered on the quest of the Ideal. It flies straight for its goal, impatient of artificial obstructions, contemptuous of untrue conventions which would impede its course.

The infant notices that its mother, its nurse, its sister, have strength of will, independence and courage. It is not the least use telling it of the conventional shortcomings which ought to attach to those ladies, and must be theirs, by all the rules of propriety.

For it will not believe it. Point to the mighty frame of its father, whom it knows very well for a blustering bully, and you will be no nearer convincing it. The three-year-old baby has grasped, perfectly well, the fact that true greatness is moral greatness. It likes a sulky playmate no better for being rich. It appreciates a harsh nurse none the better for being pretty. It despises clumsy fierceness, even when coupled with the physical strength of a Hercules. The only course that is open to the world is to poison the child's mind; to instil into it the poisonous conventional notions. And this the world assiduously does: so that the natural instincts of the developing soul are warped to ruin.

For is it not to warp the soul, to impress upon it the conventional faults of a *caste*? What right have we to say that A's best course will be to develop virtues P, Q and R; and B's to cultivate virtues X, Y and Z? Virtue will not be juggled with in that way. Virtue is one and indivisible; and every individual mind, at its peril, must aim at being what seems to it to be best. It is a denial of all reality in goodness—a treason to the eternal sense of beauty in the human heart—to set up two standards of character.

Inevitably, one must be better than the other. The only possible course to a sincere mind is to reject the worse, and to claim the remaining as the sole ideal. Where is the morality of telling A (as we virtually tell her very insistently) that it does not matter if she is weak-willed, frivolous, excitable? Why, in the name of ethics, need we tell B (as we do, with equal force, admonish him) that he may be blunt, stern, arrogant, without incurring our very grave reproof? Of course, we don't say so in so many words. But it is our implied lessons, not our spoken ones, that children take notice of. With their instinctive acumen, they have perceived the truth of Talleyrand's *mol*, that language was given to us to conceal our thoughts.

The existence of the two conventional ideals is demonstrably due to historical reasons. If it were due to a real difference in natural disposition, surely our efforts ought to be directed to correcting the faults of each caste, instead of to the intensifying and perpetuation of them. But, in fact, the phenomenon has a purely historical explanation. Primitive man, being, like the best of us,

short-sighted, attached an altogether disproportionate value to the possession of physical strength. This guaranteed him his cave, his food, his safety. It was an obvious and easily appreciable element in his struggle with the world. He invested it with the importance which, if he had been more devoted to psychology, and less urgently called upon to interview bears and mammoths, he might have discovered was more properly attributable to other agencies. We need not blame him too seriously. With the same facility with which he accepted brute force as the one thing needful, he fell into the belief—a characteristically savage fancy—that physical contact with the physically weak would undermine and charm away his own strength. From similar motives, some barbarous tribes eat the flesh of lions and savage animals, thinking to acquire from the meal vital force, instead of (what is more probable) indigestion.

Very many curious customs of savages can be directly referred to, and explained by, this superstitious horror. When the grounds for it had long ceased to operate, the belief in the moral inferiority of the physically weaker caste, and the necessity for keeping them at a distance, still continued to exist. There grew up a recognition of their moral worth, however, which made the belief really rather a hollow thing. Homer painted Athené, Nausicaa, Penhesilea—there is a little trace of any inferiority in them. Virgil shows us Camilla, Dido, Minerva. Dido compares more than favourably with Æneas. Need we mention the Antigone of Sophocles?—or the Iphigeneia of Euripides?—or Alcestis?—or Sappho? It is in the poets that we find our best instances: for a poet pictures life as he finds it—a historian has to represent it as it conventionally ought to be. After this classic age came Chivalry—that remarkable apotheosis of the despised: almost unintelligible to us in these days. Chivalry had little influence on theory, however. The most it did was to push the theory of the matter into a quite untenable position, where it hung for some generations in the position known to mathematicians as “unstable equilibrium.” 688.

This position was the utterly absurd and irrational one which is still widely held. According to it, each caste has its special excellencies, to the cultivation of which its members ought to restrain themselves. Needless to say, the human character cannot

be split up in that fashion. The heart of a living creature is not a Chinese box, cunningly divided into compartments. It is a Mirror of the Universe. If you try to mark off a portion of it, and regard it separately, you are simply leaving the study of the thing itself for the study of something different. We can enlarge one compartment of our Chinese box and diminish another. Each separate compartment is as much an individual thing as the box itself. But we can do nothing like this with the spirit. It cannot be divided—unique, homogeneous, pervasive, it resists analysis into pieces. It cannot be made better in one direction and worse in another. It either grows better, or it grows worse.

It may be said that this is contrary to the commonest experience. Is not A better-tempered than B, and B less of a cheat than A? This sounds plausible. But is it true? Inquire a little more closely into what we mean by "better-tempered" and "less of a cheat" in this specific case; and you will find—*First*, that A or B is, in the last analysis, the better creature of the two; and, *Second*, that, being so, he is really better-tempered and less of a cheat as well. For the motive of his good-temper, so far as it is right, is love; and the motive of his abstention from cheating, so far as it is right, is love no less. And if B is the more loving, A's boasted victory in good-temper will only be a brilliant mirage. In short, the fiction by which we attribute superiority to different individuals in particular virtues is only a cloak to cover the fact that we cannot make up our minds which of them is really the better.

But no such embarrassing choice is presented to the soul, in its selection of its own ideal. It can never hesitate between competing impressions; impressions are direct, and either a new impression is less agreeable than that which the mind already has, or it is more so. Suppose that a child is hesitating whether to grow up like A or like B. Sometimes the impression that A gives is the best: sometimes it is B's which is so. But that does not say that one *impression* seems sometimes better than another. It is A *at his best* who surpasses B. It is the child's kindest picture of B that surpasses A. And she has to decide, unconsciously, from moment to moment, whether the A-picture or the B-picture of the instant is the best. Such a decision is literally timeless—

absolute—inerrant, because it is the very voice of truth, to which all questions of external error must be referred ; and it is the transition, which it occasions, that is the cause of time. Of course, in practice, there will very soon spring up pictures of a third ideal, better than A or B either, and the mite will grow into that, in her own dumb fashion ; until the ruthless steel hand of orthodoxy seizes her, and moulds her to its own liking.

It was Hugo of Montpellier, who first brushed aside the self-contradictory notion of a divided ideal. For the last century and a half it has been proclaimed that the Ideal is one ; that it is nonsense to tie each caste down to an imperfect standard : that goodness is goodness, for the one as for the other, and that they are both equally capable of attaining the same height of perfection. Conduct should vary with circumstances, but character should not.

The complacent acceptance of a stunted character, because circumstances are not likely to call for the exercise of particular qualities, is decidedly “of the nature of sin.” A human being cannot be too perfect or too lovely, whatever the circumstances. Certainly, there could not be a greater delusion than to think of cultivating one virtue at the expense of another. Goodness is not divided against itself. There is nothing inconsistent in self-reliance and sympathy. Anyone who tries to suppress the tenderness of his nature, in the hope of becoming more courageous, is simply dwarfing his soul. And the loose thinkers, who admire the two faulty ideals, do an immense disservice to humanity when, as is their awesome habit, they force their foolish fancies on their unhappy offspring. The fresh spirit comes into the world, ready to fasten upon all that is good and beautiful, with the force of its admiring heart—and it is at once, and calmly, crushed to the Procrustean measure of an immoral theory, which denies it the right to realise its ideal.

“Surely, you do not want everybody all alike ?” Assuredly not—until everybody is absorbed in perfection, which occurrence is still a long way off in the blue distance. But there is no danger of everyone being alike, because of the removal of the cramping restraints which we place at present on their development.

“Not like in like, but like in difference”

people would still be, if that celebrated line has any meaning at all. (One often hears it laid down as the *ne plus ultra* of absurdity,

to argue black to be white. But to assert the likeness of difference is almost as daring a trope.)

Considerations like these have made great way in the Occident. The equality of opportunity for both castes, which such ideas require, has been accorded in a measure which annually increases in volume. In one particular direction, the movement has been curiously aided by the religious unrest of the age. A hundred years ago, an English lady would look forward to an exit, at the close of life, to a quiet heaven, in which she would have no difficulties to face. All that was necessary, then, was to provide her with safe shelter during her mundane existence—and this could generally be securely done. But now we are by no means so sure as to what is going to happen at the end of our mortal career. On the whole, we have come to think it far from probable that immunity from danger is to be expected, without perfection of character—or that perfection of character is likely to be attained without effort. And so we naturally resign, with a sigh, our dream of a protected life, and a subsequent passage to a calm and improved edition of the same; and we realise that, if a good deal of hard work is to be the condition of our improvement, we may as well begin at once. And straightway the girl faces the dangers and hardships, which it had been thought she might be spared: and the public offices and the professions, and the business houses and the politicians, avail themselves of her proffered services.

But this, though a striking incident enough, is really a trivial matter. It is not in the assimilation of outward habits that the true importance of the movement lies, but in the assimilation of character which it fosters. The real reason for putting the two castes on an equal footing is to remove artificial fetters on the development of character—not by any means to give more people a chance of working. When Professor Ruskin bewailed the incursion of girls into the rough arena of business life, he was right, in so far as he pleaded that the necessities of industrial and economic conditions offered no excuse. As he forcibly said, the nation ought to be ashamed of its ruthless competitive methods, and honourably alter them. But the great word-painter was wrong—as is the privilege of a prophet—when he failed to see that the human creature cannot reach its majestic possibilities in a petted and protected seclusion.

Sooner or later, the soul will have to meet and conquer the forces of arrogant evil. It would be foolish to terrify it too early with these awful shapes. But to train it in the belief that it is too feeble ever to combat them, is fatal.

So, the root of all reform must be the endeavour to improve character. In this particular matter, the decisive step will be when one or other ideal is definitely recognised as the best, and adopted as a model by both castes alike. It is not difficult to see which this will be. The feminine ideal is the sweetest : and, being the sweetest, it is necessarily the strongest too. To hold otherwise, would be to assert that sweetness is a less invincible thing than brutality—which is a heresy that only the hopelessly insignificant would maintain. Many people in England have never grasped the fact of this essential superiority of the feminine ideal. That is because they do not know what sweetness means. Public-school training, in the upper and middle classes, accounts for this ; barbarian sex-prejudice performs the same kind service for the lower orders. Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman has just declared himself not enamoured of the public school system. Judge "Tom Brown" Hughes, its great exponent to the outside world, deprecated it in his last days, as involving the withdrawal of the boy from home influence and the consequent loss of very valuable elements in his training. On the whole, it is the opinion of those who have had wider opportunities than the ordinary public-school man of mixing with both castes, which is entitled, on this point, to respect.

Now, this is what we Britons would like to know about India. Is there the notion, which so many of us are glad and proud to have, of a sweetness which is not another name for weak sickliness, but which means brilliant courage and independence and straightforwardness and stateliness as well ? That we cannot answer for ourselves. That we could not answer, if we came over to the Ghauts or the Mofussil, and saw. Because we did not grow up amongst things ; and we cannot appraise them rightly. We must know, if we are to know at all, from you who have lived open-eyed youth in India, and have not yet forgotten all you felt in those old days ; which yet, if you are like us, will ever be perennially young to you. We can guess dimly that such an ideal there is. We remember our *Arabian Nights* and the heroic maidens to which the good

Sacherazade introduces us—triumphant Parizadé, imperial Badoura, bright Safié. But we remember, too, that we got these stories through Galland's good offices—and we have an uncomfortable suspicion that they come to us with a certain varnishing of French polish. And if we read the direct translations that have been produced, the uncouth literalness of the language is so tiresome as to be simply meaningless. We do not consult the Sanskrit classics, because it is modern India that we want to know about. Surely, there is a real want in literature, of studies of Oriental daily life, drawn by Orientals well acquainted with European thoughts. Such sketches would enable us to estimate the aims and the standards of character of our Indian friends, who are at present such shadowy, dusky friends to us. The European story-writer cannot avoid making the strange Indian characters seem quaint and bizarre. It is his very endeavour to show us something that will make us chuckle. But we want to be shown characters into whose feelings we can enter—people who we might ourselves have been. We do not want to be repelled by an ostentatious show of strange language and unintelligible customs. All these things are external trifles ; and we want to be disembarrassed of them—to penetrate through them to the beating heart of our common human nature. For instance, take the simple case of the use of the word “thou.” Any scribbler can make any speech seem odd, and archaic, and senile, and rather contemptible, by just putting “thou” for “you” in it, all through. And yet the speaker might be making a perfectly sensible and enlightened observation, the proper effect of which could only be given by saying “you.” Eastern conversations are constantly spoilt in translation by the neglect of this precaution. That is just a type of the mistake in question. The insistence on little peculiarities for the sake of picturesqueness, or of what may be fancied to be literal accuracy, gives an entirely false impression of the reality. An Indian author may be expected to avoid this pitfall : and is only likely to give us too rich an assortment of our own idioms.

After all, we have a common human nature ; and, contrary to the absurd impression of the superficial observer, it is the opinion of those Westerns who know the East best, that it is no more difficult to understand an Oriental than it is to understand anybody

else, if you will only take the trouble. East and West *do* mix—if only that they mix toddy with mutual appreciation : and the story-teller of the future will mingle them both into the acceptance of a higher ideal than either of them has at present. But he must first show them each other's all-suggestive childhood.

T. BATY.

SOME FORGOTTEN EPISODES.

I.

THE TRAGEDY OF AMBOYNA.

THE primal germs of Empire are often obscure. It is generally admitted that the Navigation Laws of England largely helped in building up her naval power and in laying the foundations of her Empire. But it is not so generally known that these laws were the direct outcome of the hatred of the Dutch, inspired by the memory of a great wrong perpetrated, and of innocent English blood shed by them at Amboyna. A narrative, therefore, of the events and incidents of this tragedy, which is almost forgotten now, may be of some interest and use to the readers of your Magazine.

I.

At the beginning of the seventeenth century, Holland was a very wealthy country. Filled with new life and vigour after her emancipation from the yoke of Spain, she sought fresh outlets for her energies. Her trade in such necessities of life as corn and fish gave employment to an enormous mercantile marine, and with the sea-power that she thus acquired, she made up her mind to found an empire in the East, which, in the noble phraseology of Milton, "might rise by policy, and long process of time, in emulation opposite" to Spain, and crush her recent oppressor, when the inevitable war came. She lavished on this enterprise her immense resources, and lent to it the services of her most gifted sons. Hating the Spaniards with the hatred born of long years of misrule and oppression, the Dutch bent their thoughts at first to the destruction of the combined Spanish-Portuguese power in the Eastern Archipelago. At that time Portugal was an appendage of the Spanish Crown. The Dutch

plundered the ships of their enemies and harried their factories. They captured their possessions and finally chased them out of the waters of the Far East. Then the Hollanders proceeded to extend their influence by entering into alliance with some of the Native Princes of the Archipelago and by conquering the allegiance of others, until they succeeded in establishing a practical monopoly in the trade of the Spice Islands. The English had helped the Dutch at first in their struggle against the Spaniards, but the shifty policy of King James I. rendered impossible a lasting alliance between the two Protestant nations. The Solomon of the seventeenth century, who prided himself on his statecraft, could never make up his mind as to the part he should play in the game of international politics. One day he aspired to be the head of a Protestant league in Europe, the next day he was allured by the bait of a Spanish marriage for his son. The consequence was that the Dutch could never rely on the assistance of the English, when it was wanted in the Eastern waters, and it soon dawned on the minds of the Hollanders that the subjects of King James were now more formidable as rivals in trade than their hated enemies, the Spaniards and the Portuguese. Though the Dutch tightened their grip on the Archipelago, though they bribed and they threatened, and entered into specific arrangements with the natives of the islands to exclude all foreign nations from the trade in spices, they found that the English were interfering seriously with their coveted monopoly. The latter came with money in their hands, paid down cash for all their purchases, and in their eagerness to obtain a freight for their ships they raised the local prices. The Dutch called the English buccaneers, and endeavoured to frighten the natives by the use of this opprobrious epithet from dealing with their rivals. The natives laughed and said that they had found the English more honest than the Dutch themselves. At last the Hollanders proceeded to more repressive measures. They seized the cargoes of their rivals, they seized the Englishmen who were found trafficking with the natives, and on one occasion, they almost starved their prisoners to death. In 1617 they adopted a singular plan of making the English name hateful in the East. They "covered all the seas from the Red Sea to the coast of China, spoiling and robbing all

nations in the name and under the colour of the English." Two nutmeg islets, which had been ceded by their Chiefs to the English Government, were forcibly seized by the Dutch. The Englishmen, who were found on the islets, were dragged about in chains. "Lo!" said the Dutch to the islanders, "lo! these are the men, whom ye made your gods, in whom ye put your trust, but we have made them our slaves."

The tale of Dutch oppression and wrong-doing in the East was long, its details often harrowing. It was impossible that a high-spirited people like the English could listen to it with patience. A bitter cry was raised for the redress of wrongs and for the punishment of the wrong-doers. The indignation of the nation compelled even King James to threaten the Dutch with reprisals if satisfaction was not given for the oppression of English subjects. But His Majesty's wrath soon evaporated, and he entered into negotiations with the Dutch Government for a final settlement. Apart from the redress of wrongs and the payment of compensation for the oppression of English subjects, the questions at issue were few but of considerable importance. The Dutch claimed the monopoly of the trade of the Spice Islands. The English, on the other hand, not only refused to acquiesce in this monopoly, but also claimed a prior right to the trade on the ground that Drake had visited one of the islands long before the Dutch went there. A claim based on such an argument was easily demolished, and the English subsequently claimed the right of free trade by the law of nations. The Dutch replied that any trade at all in the Eastern waters could be secured only by large and expensive armaments and garrisons, and since the English did not share the cost of these, they could not very well claim a share in the profits of the trade. After long negotiations a treaty was concluded between England and Holland, which was practically one-sided. No compensation was paid for past outrages. The cost of the armaments and garrisons was to be divided between the two nations. The East India Companies of Holland and of England were permitted to trade at all places in the East, but the shares of the trade varied in different localities. In Java the pepper trade was equally divided; in the island of Amboyna the Dutch were to have two shares of the trade, the English only one. All forts were to remain with their last

possessors, and, since most of them were in the possession of the Dutch, the control of the Spice Islands practically remained with them. The treaty hastened the catastrophe to which events were rapidly marching. The Dutch agents in the Archipelago had made up their minds to eject the English at any cost. When the treaty reached the East in 1620, the two parties at first fraternised, but soon they began to wrangle about the terms. While this wrangle was going on, the curtain was rung up for the last scene, and a foul tragedy was enacted in sight of the civilised world.

II.

The most lucrative trade in spices at this time was carried on in the island of Amboyna and in one or two of the adjacent islands. These islands lie at the south-eastern end of the Archipelago. In February, 1623, there were exactly 18 English factors on the island of Amboyna and the neighbouring island of Ceram. They were scattered between five factories, and they had six slaves—mere boys—to serve them. The chief agent of the English East India Company in Amboyna was a man named Captain Towerson, who, according to contemporary evidence, was so upright and honest that he harboured no ill-will to any one. He was one of those simple, rollicking souls, who go about the world doing harm to no one except themselves. Some years before the date of the tragedy, he had distinguished himself at the court of the Great Mogul by going about with an Indian wife, a trumpet and a large retinue of servants, and by displaying more pomp and show than the English Ambassador, Sir Thomas Roe himself. In February, 1623, he was leading a quiet life in Amboyna. He had cultivated the friendship of the Dutch Governor, Van Speult, and in return for what he called the Governor's love and courtesies, Towerson asked the President of the English Council at Batavia to send his friend a complimentary letter with some beer or a case of strong waters, which he said would be acceptable to the Governor. The President, however, knew the sinister character of Van Speult and suspected that mischief was brewing in Amboyna, for not only did he warn Towerson to be on his guard against the Governor, but also arranged that all the English factors except two should leave the south-eastern islands. Van Speult had, indeed, been

hatching a plot for some time, because he had asked for and obtained special powers to deal summarily with any conspiracies that he might discover. He had made up his mind that the English Company should never have a share in the trade of Amboyna, and he resolved to strike such a blow that no English factor would venture to come to the island again. On the 10th February, a Japanese soldier of the Dutch garrison of the Amboyna fort questioned one of the sentries as to the number of troops and the times of changing the watch. It was proved subsequently that such talk was common among the Dutch troops, but Van Speult pretended to have his suspicions aroused by the questions of the Japanese soldier, and, according to the infamous usage of those days, put him to the torture. At last, the Governor wrung out of the soldier an accusation against the English to the effect that they had conspired to seize the fort with the help of some Japanese soldiers whom they had corrupted through the agency of a drunken English barber. Now in the fort at that time there were 200 Dutch soldiers, between 300 and 400 native soldiers in the service of the Dutch, and 30 Japanese soldiers in the same service. There were also eight Dutch ships in the harbour. The story extorted by torture from the Japanese soldier was that 18 English factors, scattered over five factories in two islands, with the help of a few men, whom, it was alleged, they had corrupted, were to storm and seize a fort defended by more than five hundred men in the presence of eight Dutch ships armed with guns. The only confirmation of this amazing tale was that some six weeks before the date of the confession, the factors had met at the hospitable table of Towerson to usher in the New Year in a truly British fashion. On such slender foundation a conspiracy to overthrow the Dutch authority in Amboyna was established to the satisfaction of the Governor. He issued immediate orders for the arrest of the 18 Englishmen and had their houses searched for arms. In one of the factories two muskets, three or four rapiers and half a pound of powder were discovered. Such were the mighty preparations made to overpower a Government supported by over 500 men and eight armed ships! The English factors were put on their trial. No further evidence could be obtained against them. But in those days, they had in all countries of Europe

—perhaps with the sole exception of Ireland—an expedient for obtaining evidence and for securing the conviction of suspected persons—the fiendish process of torture. The Dutch commenced their work with two men, John Beaumont and Timothy Johnson. Beaumont was an old man and an invalid to boot. He was left with a guard in the justice hall, while his companion was taken to an inner chamber. Suddenly, Beaumont heard a pitiful cry followed by a silence, then a loud cry. For an hour Johnson declared that he had nothing to confess, then he made a statement, and then he was brought out wailing and lamenting, all wet and bloody and burnt in divers parts of his body. (I have been quoting from a contemporary chronicle.) Another man named Collins was tied up for the torture. He said he would confess all. He was released and then he vowed and protested his innocence. He was being tied up again, when he cried out, “For God’s sake, tell me what I should say.” This was not enough for his tormentors. They tied him up again. When tortured, he began a confession, but he could not make it up without the help of the prosecutor. Another prisoner was tied up four times and tortured four times, and yet he could not make up a story. He cried in his agony, “Tell me what to say or write it down, and I will subscribe to it.” One man stood the ordeal so bravely that his tormentors said he was a devil, called him a wizard and cut his hair to deprive him of his magical powers, and then inflicted other abominations. Towerson steadily refused to confess at first. He was confronted with his fellow-prisoners who had been tortured into making up a story. He turned with flashing eyes on them and charged them, as they would answer it at the dreadful Day of Judgment, to speak nothing but the truth. They begged him to forgive them and said their declarations were false. Being threatened with torture again, they re-affirmed their previous statements. A confession was at last wrung out of Towerson by the same diabolical means. The Dutch Judges admitted later that they had inflicted torture on the prisoners—at least on the majority of them—but that it was of the “civil sort.” This was known as the wet torment, and the following was the process of the torment. The accused person was tied tightly round his face, mouth and neck. Then water was softly poured over his head—drip, drip,

drip,—till the cloth was saturated and full of water up to the mouth and nostrils, till the prisoner's body was swollen two or three times his natural size, his cheeks were distended like bladders and his eyes were protruding out of the sockets. If this torment was of a "civil sort," as the Judges said, the horrors and abominations of the more atrocious forms of torture, to which some of the prisoners were subjected, may be left to the reader's imagination. Such were the means by which confessions were wrung out of all prisoners save one or two. And yet, the statements made by these men were so conflicting and so improbable that it is a marvel that the Judges accepted them or even recorded them. Towerson confessed to a plot so wild that, as his employers said, if it ever entered a human brain, the man who hatched the plot should rather have been sent to Bedlam than to the gallows. On such evidence, however, and so obtained, the Judges and the Governor decided that the prisoners should die. The arrival of the ship, sent by the President of the English Council at Batavia, to fetch the factors away, hastened their doom. The sentence of death was passed on ten out of the whole number of prisoners. In their last hours the condemned men behaved like heroes. When the sentence was pronounced all of them protested their innocence. One of them spake with a loud voice, "According to my innocence in this treason, so the Lord pardon the rest of my sins; and if I be guilty thereof more or less, let me never be partaker of Thy heavenly joys." And his companions cried out, "Amen for me, Amen for me, good Lord." Then they begged forgiveness of one another for their false confessions, and they freely forgave one another, for each of them under the horrors of torture had falsely charged every other man. They spent the last night in prayers and in singing psalms and comforting one another. They rejected with scorn the wine that their guards offered in order to stupefy them. Next morning they were executed in the presence of a large native crowd, summoned to witness the Dutch triumph.

III.

Thus died these brave Englishmen. They were veritable martyrs, for they all knew that they carried their lives in their hands. If they were tortured, so had other Englishmen been

tortured by the Dutch; certainly not in the same diabolical manner in which they were done to death, but the tortures were only the less fiendish. Only a year before the tragedy, the Dutch had publicly flogged a steward of an English factory, cruelly cutting his flesh, and then had washed him with salt and vinegar and laid him again in irons. If the heroes of Amboyna were murdered under judicial forms, some of their predecessors had been almost starved to death. So Towerson and his companions remained at Amboyna with full knowledge of what they might have to endure one day. If they were martyrs, they were also the victims of the tortuous and shifty policy of their own Government. Van Speult knew that he was perpetrating a deed which would evoke a cry of execration throughout the civilised world, and that he was murdering innocent men. But he also knew who was at the head of the English Government, that King James would bluster at first, but in the end he would take no vigorous action. Years would elapse before anything could be done to the Governor and his accomplices. In the meanwhile, the English would not approach the Spice Islands, and the supremacy and the monopoly of the Dutch would be irrevocably established. All this Van Speult knew from experience of past events. And he was not mistaken in his prognostications. When the news of the massacre reached England, a wave of horror swept over the land. The details were so gruesome, the outrage so abominable, that men refused to believe it at first. But soon sufficient evidence was forthcoming. The nation called on the King to obtain redress even by force of arms. The King and his courtiers wept at the Council table over the narrative of the tragedy. They fumed and they blustered and they swore to carry fire and sword to Holland, if the Dutch Government did not tender immediate reparation and punish the miscreants of Amboyna. But their wrath soon evaporated, and they dried their tears. They began to talk of entering into a friendly alliance with the Dutch in order to avenge on Spain the insult that had been put on Prince Charles when he went in quest of a wife. Some courtiers were shocked at the difficulties the East India Company were creating, when His Majesty was contemplating an alliance with Holland. So years passed before any redress could be obtained. There were many negotiations, there was much going to-

and-fro of envoys and ambassadors. But nothing was done. As was King James, so was his son King Charles. In a moment of vigour he seized three Dutch ships in English waters and refused to let them go unless reparation was made for the Amboyna outrage. After eleven months he sold the rights of the nation for a private gratification of £30,000, and released the ships. Years passed in fruitless negotiations. But the day of retribution came at last. The greatest prince that has ever ruled in England, now occupied the seat of the Stuarts. After a naval war, in which Holland was severely chastised, Cromwell demanded that the long standing account of Amboyna should be closed. He would brook no delay. Within five months all pecuniary claims were arranged. Thirty-one years had elapsed since the date of the massacre, and the principal murderers and their accomplices had gone to answer for their crime before the great Judgment Seat. But, as stated by Sir William Hunter, the spectres of the tortured victims of Amboyna stood between the two Protestant nations for over a century. Immediately after the tragedy Englishmen determined to go their own way. They resolved that never, never again, should they be at the mercy of the Dutch in any part of the world. With this object in view the navigation laws were passed, the English navy was built. As the blood of the martyrs is the seed of the Church, so the blood of heroes is often the seed of Empire. Van Speult's victims perished, outraged and tortured, but their innocent blood, so ruthlessly shed, was the seed from which the Naval power of England sprung up, bearing later the fruit of Empire.

K. J. BADSHAH.

AN APPEAL TO LORD SALISBURY.

MY LORD,

IN one of our ancient books of wisdom, there is a story of a great fight between the Devas and the Asuras—between gods and demons—in which the Devas were finally triumphant. There was joy in *their* heaven—for, according to our books, the heaven of the gods is not the only heaven, and is not a very high heaven—and there were innumerable demonstrations of rejoicing, such as there would be now in England if the last remnant of the Boers were reduced to a heap of dust and ashes. Indra—our Jupiter—was naturally the hero of the hour; and Agni and Váyú—his lieutenants—and the smaller gods and goddesses vied with one another in lauding him to the skies. The Gandharvas sang, better than any poet-laureate, his mighty feats of arms, and the Apsarás danced to their music, and “looked love to eyes which spake again,” and all the dwellers in the empyrean had, as you may well imagine, a very delightful time of it, at that celestial ball in honour of their hero. But, in the midst of their revelry, a strange thing happened: for one who had no business to come to their heaven—a very humble Yaksha, belonging to a class very low in the hierarchy of beneficent powers, but with eyes like suns—made his appearance at the extreme end of their horizon, and stood gazing steadily on them. “Who is that luminous Yaksha?” asked Indrani and Svaha in one breath, but neither Indra nor Agni knew. “Who is he?” asked Váyú’s partner in the dance with “woven paces and waving arms,” but Váyú also knew not. “Who is he?” asked the Apsarás and the Gandharvas, but no one knew. Then the gods and the goddesses said to Agni: “Go, great one. Thou art a burning and a shining light among us. Do thou find out who the Stranger is.” And Agni said: “So be it,” and he came in a cloud of fire to the Stranger, but before he could utter a word, the

Stranger asked him : "Who may you be?" "I am Agni," replied the messenger of the gods, "I am Játaveda." "What power have you?" "I can burn anything and everything." "Here is a straw, then, before you. Burn it"—and Agni thought the Stranger was making mock of him by giving him only a straw to burn : but the straw burnt not in spite of all his fiery glances and fiery embraces, and in spite of the ardent kisses and serpentine twinings of his seven tongues of flame, multiplying into seven times seven, and forty-nine times seven, and three hundred and forty-three times seven, and two thousand four hundred and one times seven, and sixteen thousand eight hundred and seven times seven, and innumerable times seven. Baffled and crestfallen, Agni dared not look the Yaksha in the face, and retreated mute with wonder to the "full-faced presence of the gods" ranged in the halls of Indra, and to the many questions put to him he replied that the riddle of the Yaksha he could not rede. The gods and goddesses, sorely puzzled, then, by common voice, elected Váyú as their next 'Champion' Commissioner for the investigation. And Váyú, saying "So be it," started airily on his errand, and was met by the same question, "Who may you be?" and he replied grandiloquently enough : "I am Váyú—I am Mátarishva." "What power have you?" "I can uplift anything and everything." "Uplift then this straw"—and Váyú, like Agni, thought the Yaksha was making mock of him : but the straw moved not, in spite of all his billowy gambols and prancings, dashings and splashings, which produced enormous sound-waves, filling the heavens with their multiplied reflections, refractions and diffractions, like those of Agni's light. Baffled and crestfallen, Váyú also dared not look the Yaksha in the face, and retreated, mute with wonder, to the "full-faced presence of the gods" ranged in the halls of Indra, and to the many questions put to him replied that the riddle of the Yaksha he also could not rede. Then, said the gods and the goddesses to their great Thunderer, Indra : "Mighty One ! You alone can rede this riddle. Do you find out who this Yaksha is." And Indra said : "So be it," and lo ! and behold, the Yaksha disappeared, and in his place stood the beautiful Umá, and at her feet the heavenly

Crocus brake like fire, violet, amaranthus, and asphodel,
Lotos and lilies.

Approaching her humbly, Indra inquired who the Yaksha was. "Verily the Lord," said the sweet-smiling, snow-white Virgin of the Revealed Will (*Ichha Shakti Umā Kumāri*); "by His might, not by thine was the victory won." And Indra—says the ancient book—is the head of the Nature-gods, because he was the first to learn this great truth and to lay it to heart.

My Lord, to a distant thinker who has deeply studied the "revenges" of what your great poet calls "the whirligig of time," and what one of your great generals calls "bad luck," and who knows how his own ancestors—once the white race of India—lost their proud empire, it looks as if the English people—his own kith and kin, if philology has any truth in it—stand very much in need, at present, of being reminded that their power also, like the power of the gods and the angels, comes from Above, and is a trust for the advancement of the kingdom of heaven and not for extending the bounds of hell. I may be wrong, and humble as I am, nothing will give me greater pleasure than to know that I am wrong. But if, "By their fruits ye shall know them," is a true test, then it would appear, that the ideals which are now dominating the English mind are mainly materialistic; and materialism, my Lord, it has been, truly said, "spoils all that it touches—liberty, equality, individuality."

My Lord, your scientific analysts who can tell us of the *spindle* and the *skein* in the animal cell, of the *mother-star* and of the potential *daughter-stars* in that tiny round—itsself a miracle of design—from which even you, who can bear the weight of an Empire, have been evolved by means of segmentation and differentiation; my Lord, your astronomers who can weigh and measure the much misunderstood

Innumerable, pitiless, passionless eyes,
Cold fires, yet with power to burn and brand
His nothingness into man,

are all utterly unable to explain the genesis or the final cause of the simplest forms of life or motion, or to make one single natural hair or nail, or even the spire and whorl of a minute sea-shell. Your orators, in and out of Parliament, believe at least in sound, but none of them, and none of your interpreters of nature, can explain how the

vibrations of air, which they produce with their tongues, are translated into sound, by the tympanic membrane and the auditory nerve in the brain. One of your scientific luminaries, Tyndall, even goes so far as to say : " How it is that the motion of the nervous matter can thus excite the consciousness of sound, is a mystery which the *human mind cannot fathom*." He should have said " has not yet fathomed"—for our seers have taught us that the human mind can fathom even greater mysteries, when it *realises* that it is nothing without the Spirit, and when, like a little child, it nestles in the bosom of the Spirit. Your own great Teacher has taught you the same sublime truth, but it would appear as if the English people, who believe in telluric electricity, who believe in the thaumaturgic power of a Marconi, a Tesla, or an Armstrong, have lost their faith in the grandest of all teachings, the teaching of the great seers who could focus life itself in their vision, and who understood the marvellous Law of the Spirit—the Law of Love, which is the root and basis of the Law of Sacrifice, and the root and basis of harmonious co-operation and progress.

My Lord, have you ever asked yourself why the names of the great seers enjoy an ever fragrant immortality, while those of kings and ministers generally vanish into thin or ignoble air ? Can you mention a single secular sovereign, in the whole range of history, who enjoys the sublimely glorious immortality of a Christ or a Buddha, or even of a St. Francis of Assissi or of a St. Francis de Sâles ? You know little of our Indian saints, but I can assure you that, while Rāmānand, Kabir, Nānak, Chaitanya, Tulsidās, and Nāmdēv live in our heart of hearts, the kings whose subjects they were are, to-day, mere shadows of a shade. There were powerful kings in ancient India also ; but, with " pride in their port, defiance in their eye," they looked down upon the subject population, as Dasyus, as the black race : and to-day their descendants, my Lord, are " the black people " to a new white race. They forgot the Law of Life and the Law of the Spirit, and they are themselves among the forgotten. But the great ancient seers of India are still alive, though thousands of years have passed away since they first drank in the Ineffable Presence, and they shall continue to live to the end of all time, for they taught and practised the Law of Unity—the Law of Love.

My Lord, we fell because we systematically violated that great Law, and we have certainly deserved all we have suffered ever since our fall. I go further and assert that the suffering is for our good, as we did not listen to other warnings, and that if we are to rise at all, we must learn not only to labour, but to suffer and to wait. "History repeats itself," in those who do not understand *why* it repeats itself, and, my Lord, I beseech you not to imitate my proud ancestors, and not to give a reason to History to repeat itself.

We admire the work of your scientists, who tell us so much of the manifestations, in space and time, of Him the Unshadowable, in words, and we welcome the material results of their discoveries, *so far as those results tend to give the world greater leisure for intellectual, moral and spiritual culture.* But we know what passes away and what does not pass away, and we do not welcome those material results *for their own sake.* To conquer electric or magnetic forces is, undoubtedly, a great achievement, but to conquer their conqueror, the mind, my Lord, is a still greater achievement.

My Lord, but for Him whom we all adore, (for even the so-called Atheists and Agnostics revere Him as Law)—but for Him whom we all adore—the invisible spindle cannot guide the marvellous skein in the animal cell or in the plant cell, and but for Him, mind can never triumph over matter, or the soul over the mind. Can it be, then, my Lord, that natural forces, like electricity, should be all-pervading, but not the forces of the mind? Can it be that the Spirit, who overshadows the mind and the soul, and endows us with our capacity for knowing, and willing, and for realising the invisible, is less pervading than mind or matter? And can it be that if the Spirit is everywhere, He can look upon the use the great English nation is making of His innumerable gifts, without sorrow?—if sorrow can ever touch Him.

My Lord, the immortal seers, who bore the cross of this low earthly life in order to guide erring men and women, earnestly warned them, in all lands, against the deadly sin of pride, which inevitably leads to humiliation and destruction. Far be it from me, however, to *judge* you or the great nation you represent. I come to you as a suppliant, and I entreat you to review your life and the life of the nation you are guiding, in order to answer, to yourself, the question, whether you could not have made the world richer in

love, richer in self-sacrifice, richer in harmonious co-operation and progress.

"Let me sing for my well-beloved," said an ancient Prophet, my Lord, "let me sing for my well-beloved a song of my beloved touching his vineyard. My well-beloved had a vineyard in a very fruitful hill, and he made a trench about it and gathered out the stones thereof and planted it with the choicest vine, and built a tower in the midst of it, and also hewed out a vine-press therein; and he looked that it should bring forth grapes, and it brought forth *wild grapes*." And the Prophet was sad, and in burning words cried out: "Woe unto them that call evil good, and good evil, that put darkness for light and light for darkness; that put bitter for sweet, and sweet for bitter! Woe unto them that are wise in their own eyes and prudent in their own sight." And he predicted that "the fence of the vineyard shall be taken away and it shall not be pruned nor hoed; but there shall come up briers and thorns." Others, my Lord, may reproach you for the superciliousness such as found vent in laying down for India a policy of "Drift," in calling one of our best men a "black" man, and in poohpoohing comparisons between the English outlanders in South Africa and the Indian outlanders. Others, my Lord, may remind you of your famous words that you were not going to South Africa for gold or territory, and ignore the fallibility of man and the supreme logic of facts. But this humble servant asks you merely, my Lord, to pause and ponder the very old but ever new words of the Prophet, and to ask yourself whether you could have prevented the growth of wild grapes in the vineyard of the beloved—whether you have at all lost sight of the Law of Love which His great interpreters have expounded in all its beauty—whether you have put back in any degree the progress of humanity towards the realisation of its divinity.

If you find yourself guilty, my Lord, then for the love of Him undo whatever can be undone. If you find yourself innocent and are really guilty—may He forgive you, and not forget you!

SHANTI.

25th November, 1901.

MARRIAGE FORMS UNDER ANCIENT HINDU LAW.

INTRODUCTORY EXTRACTS.

(These are given below with a double object, for the lawyer and the layman. The former will find in them a supplement to the ideas drawn from his law-books by way of *addenda* and *corrigenda*. The latter will find in them an introduction to the subject.)

"If (a father) having decked a maiden (daughter) should give her (in marriage) preceded by water (*i.e.*, having dropped water as the first ceremony committing him to make a gift of her), this is Brāhma marriage. 2. If having decked her, he should give her to a Ritvij priest in the Vitata sacrifice, this is Daiva (form of marriage). 3. As they two (*i.e.*, bride and bridegroom) perform their duties jointly, it is Prājāpatya (form of marriage). 4. If (a man) having given a pair of cows (to her father), should marry (her), this is Arsha (form). 5. If he should marry after having entered into a reciprocal stipulation (with her), this is Gandharva (form). 6. If he should marry after having gratified (her parents and others) with money, this is Asura (form). 7. If he should carry her away from the sleeping and the negligent (or intoxicated), this is Paisācha (marriage). 8. If he should carry her weeping from the weeping, after killing (people) and breaking (their) heads, this is Rākshasa (marriage)"—*Asvalayaniya Grihya Sūtras*, I. 6.

"The Prājāpatya procedure is laid down to be the gift of a maiden, having after (that) said in words: 'Let them perform their duties.' ... The reciprocal union, by desire, of bride and bridegroom—that itself is to be understood as the Gandharva, relating to sexual intercourse and originating from passion. ... Where one has intercourse in solitude with (a maiden) who is asleep or intoxicated or not on her guard, it is the eighth, the lowest, the Paisācha (form), the most sinful of marriages. To the leaders of the regenerates (*i.e.*, to the Brahmanas) the gift of a maiden by means of water (ceremony) is preferred. As regards the other classes, by reciprocal desire (love):" *Manu III.* 30,32, 34,35.

(It will be noted from the above that under the usages of ancient Indian races, marriage was held to be completed by eight procedures now called "forms of marriages." In some of these, ancient ideas invested the first actual defloration of a virgin with the full dignity and force of the marriage tie, whatever the moral aspect of the union! The Gandharva form held a marriage completed by such

process where the virgin was a consenting party to the act; the Paisácha form gave it validity even where the act was done *without* her consent, and the Rákshasa form recognised the marriage where she was violated *against* her will and by force. The five other forms were completed by a mere *consensus* of the parties concerned or of their parents with or without religious ceremonies and moral covenants, and cohabitation was the object and not the means of these marriages. The Gandharva marriage seems to have been shunted in Asvalayana's time from the former to the latter class, as would appear from a comparison of his definition with that of Manu. The ideas of adultery and rape seem to have been confined to those cases only where a virgin had already married according to any one of these forms and did not apply where she was not so married. As will be shown further on, this was only an enunciation of usages as distinguished from positive law and morality.)

EMINENT lawyers have at times been tempted to diverge in the direction of history to trace the sources of the institutions and rules in force under modern Hindu Law. The temptation, if it has at times resulted in vague speculation and curious errors in the administration of law, has also at times led to substantial research and helped to explain and harmonise not a few points of law, and has, in these cases, enabled the lawyer to be in touch with matters which, without such assistance, would have bewildered the best intelligence. Among writers who have tried to work in this spirit, and with eminent success, the names of Messrs. West and Buhler, and of Mr. J. D. Mayne, will instantly occur to any one who is conversant with the subject, and will be gratefully remembered by all who have had occasion to seek assistance from their pages, deriving benefit thereby. The present is a contribution in the same direction, though it is limited to only one point of one chapter in Mr. Mayne's admirable and elaborate work on Hindu Law.

2. The well-known eight forms of marriage,* as known to ancient Hindu Law, though usually of antiquarian interest only, are mentioned in all works on modern Hindu Law. Mr. Mayne has tried to determine the relations of these forms with one another and to arrange them in something like the order of geological strata. After having mentioned them in the order given by Manu, he concludes, or rather enunciates, that "their antiquity is in the inverse ratio to the order in which they are mentioned." It is not proposed either to recapitulate his speculations and comments on the various phases of the

* Extracts, explaining the nature of these forms, are given as introductory extracts at the top. The extracts from Asvalayana are in prose and belong to a later date than Manu. The extracts from Manu are given below those extracts to show points of difference between the two.

subject, or to criticise him and his method of looking at things, which, however scientific in its appearance, is based on foreign analogies rather than on indigenous materials. It would, perhaps, be a wiser course for both writer and reader to leave Mr. Mayne's case to take care of itself, and to be content with what is offered here as being based on some evidence, while the reader is left to find out and compare for himself if there be any evidence for the interesting propositions advanced by Mr. Mayne.

3. The earliest notions of Indo-Aryan marriages are those embodied in some of the Vedic hymns. A number of references and a summary of nuptial rites pertaining to this stage are given at p. 400 of Mr. V. N. Mandlik's work on Hindu Law and in the footnotes on that page. Mr. Mandlik concludes with the remark that "the rite was a simple one, and free from the symbolism which now prevails." We shall deal here only with such of the rites as were of practical value. The reader will find a glowing account of, and commentary on, the great marriage hymn of the Rig-Veda (X. 85) in the "Vedic India" of *The Story of the Nations* series, pp. 367-372, while the original text will afford a useful clue to some of its mantras, which continue to preserve their interest in our current ceremonials. The Vedic ceremonials, which are called so "simple" by Mr. Mandlik, and have evoked a feeling of self-complacence from the author of "Vedic India," as clearly showing a free and sacred union of hearts as the basis of the nuptial tie among the Aryan ancestors of both East and West, form rather a solemn civic procedure than a simple religious rite. The bride is represented as herself "courting" the husband,* the word for courting being the root *van*, which, as explained in later works on "The Science of Love," means winning the heart of the object of one's love. Her father only gave her the husband whom she had desired in her heart.† The bridegroom took her by the hand to be one with him in the office of "the rulers of his home."‡ She was given to him by the sacred fire with long life for both.§ They both joined in prayers to Indra, to Prajapati, and to Visve Devas, asking Prajapati to bless them with Praja (issue) and Visve Devas to place them face to face and to unite their hearts. The two drove together in a chariot and entered the bridegroom's house. In another hymn,¶ there is a competition between the Visve Devas (lit. "all Gods") for the hand of the maiden Suryâ, Daughter of the Sun. As, when

* Rig-Veda X. 27 (12).

† Rig-Veda X. 85 (9).

‡ Rig-Veda X. 85 (37).

§ Rig-Veda X. 85 (39).

¶ Rig-Veda I, 116 (17).

there is a race run for the seizure of a stake or flag planted at a distance from the competitors, only one of them comes forth successful and is the first to reach and seize the stake, so in the race between the Visve Devas, the twin gods Asvins who represent the twilight of the dawn, succeeded in winning the daughter of the Sun, who ascended their chariot, and the rest of the Visve Devas *consented* to her ascent from their hearts. Such is the procedure at a Vedic marriage which has formed the nucleus round which covenants and ceremonies have sprung up in later ages, and which must be borne in mind by one who would understand its subsequent religious and legal developments. This is the *first stage* of Indo-Aryan* marriages, disclosed by the earliest evidence known. Neither the eight forms nor even any "forms" of marriage are spoken of at this stage, nor is the Sapta-Padi mentioned. Of course, there is no reason to suppose that our information is exhaustive, but this is our only direct information, and the rest will be *indirect* information in the shape of subsequent circumstances presupposing a prior state of things from which the circumstances must be *inferred* to have sprung as effect from cause.

4. The next stage of the marriage law and rites is the one during which the eight forms of marriage come into existence in all their pristine vigour. The age of Manu is not the true Vedic age. His work is the first full blossom of the Smṛiti age as distinguished from the Śruti or Vedic Age. The eight forms mentioned by Manu may be classified into (1) those which were accompanied with ceremonies, and (2) those which were not so accompanied. The Brāhma, Daiva, Prājāpatya, and Arsha forms belong to the first group, and the rest to the second. There is another distinction between the two groups, and that is the etymological one. The first group includes the said four forms as consisting of ceremonies performed *in honour* of Brahman, the Devas, Prajāpati, and the Rishis respectively, and may be called the ceremonial group. The other group is distinguished not only by the absence of any ceremonies, but also by the fact that the name for each form signifies the name of the one or the other of the non-Aryan tribes among or through whom the Indo-Aryans may be presumed to have lived or passed in the course of their immigration into India or before it. The Paisācha form means the form practised by or among the Pisāchas; the Rākshasa form means the form practised by

* The term Indo-Aryan is used throughout this article to mean the Aryans (Sanskṛ. Aryāḥ) who came to India as distinguished, from those Aryans who went elsewhere, and secondly, from the crystallised castes of the Indian Aryans in later times.

the Rakshases (*sing.* Rakshas, also called the Rākshasas); the Asura, the one practised by the Asuras, and the Gāndharva practised by the Gāndharvas. That the Rakshasas* and Asuras† were types of aboriginal races which once lived in archaic India is pretty well settled. The Pisachas‡ are known to Hindu mythology as being goblins wandering at night, and the form of marriage, which means marrying by secret and stealthy embraces, may well be presumed to have been prevalent among a tribe of night-wanderers. The Gandharvas are a mythological band of divine singers and choristers who, with the Apsarasas or celestial nymphs, waited upon the Indian Jupiter and sang in sonorous tones while the Apsarasas danced. The profession of the Apsarasas in heaven was analogous to that of the dancing girls on earth in this country, and their relations with the gods and the Gandharvas were analogous to those of Khavas women with the Rajput princes and their Khavasas respectively in modern Kathiawar. The heads of a section of the Gandharvas were like the heads of horses, not much unlike those of the crew of Milton's Comus. The Gandharvas and Apsarasas were reciprocal spouses§ whose marriages, if such there were at all, were undoubtedly contracted in the Gāndharva form. Whether there ever was any actual tribe or race of that name, is a question which has not yet occurred to an orientalist for consideration. But there was a Vedic tribe of horse-breeding Gandharas¶ in the valley of Kabul, and whether the horse-headed Gandharvas may be identified with this race may well form an appropriate point for debate by orientalists. MacDonnell || mentions that the Gandharians and Indians are said to have figured as a part of the army of Xerxes during his invasion of Greece, and that Herodotus even describes their equipage. Whether the Rakshasas, the Asuras, the Pisachas, and the Gandharvas, were races which were once extant, and whether they practised the quasi-criminal and even criminal method of marriage from which the four forms of the second group derive their names, are questions which had better be left unsettled for our purposes. It is enough to know that the tribes to whom these forms are attributed were not Indo-Aryans of the same stock to which those who practised the ceremonial group of marriage forms belonged. Under these circumstances we may distinguish the forms

* See MacDonnell's *Sanskrit Literature*, pp. 114-115 for a short reference to these.

(†) *Ibid.* ‡ *Ibid.*

(§) MacDonnell's *Sanskrit Literature*, pp. 107-108.

¶ *Story of the Nations Series*: "Vedic India," p. 324.

|| *His Sanskrit Literature*, p. 409.

adopted by the former as belonging to the non-ceremonial or non-Aryan group.

5. In considering how this non-Aryan group came in for enumeration among the forms mentioned by Manu in connection with the Aryan races who alone were expected to follow his laws, one has to bear in mind the history of these races so far as it has been unearthed by Oriental scholars. Whether the whole Aryan group of races separated beyond the Himalayas or on this side of it, Max Müller may be taken to have proved, along with others, that the region of the Sapta Sindhus, or the seven streams of the Indus, formed the earliest home of the Vedic Indo-Aryans. They must, in that case, have first come into contact with the Gandharas of the Kabul valley, and the home of the Gandharvas, along with that of the Devas, or gods, and other demi-gods, such as the Yakshas, has been invariably and consistently placed by Sanskrit authors from the earliest to the most recent times at one or the other spot nearest or above the Kashmir valley; while the Asuras, Rakshasas, and Pisachas have always confronted them throughout India. There is no wonder, then, that the Gandharvas should have been invested with a character more mythical than that of these three races, and that the marriages of the race with whom the Indo-Aryans seem to have first associated rather than quarrelled should have found imitators among the earliest Aryan warriors who, in time, began to be known as the Kshatriyas. The Gandharva form became not only from an early date the favourite form for the Kshatriya warriors, but was also the least repulsive of the non-ceremonial group. The Asura form stood next in the degree of repulsiveness, and both forms could at least be viewed with equanimity by the civil and criminal law. It is quite intelligible in that way how, in Manu's time, these two non-Aryan forms came to be considered unobjectionable for even Brahmanas,* while for the Kshatriyas who had no doubt to deal measure for measure with their non-Aryan foes, even the whole non-Aryan group of forms came to be legalised,† and the rest of the Aryan sections, the Vaishyas and the Sudras, were allowed to debase themselves by the practice of the Paisâcha form in addition to the two permitted to the Brahmanas,‡ and no reason was found for allowing them the use of the violent Rakshasa form. It is in this sense of "permissible" only that Manu calls these non-ceremonial forms "*Dharmya*" for the different sections of the Aryan race, and, though he does not say so,

* Manu III. 23.

† *Ibid.*

‡ *Ibid.*

it is possible, and perhaps even probable, that at first all non-Aryan forms except the Gandharva were permitted only where Aryans married non-Aryans. The legitimate presumption under the circumstances is that the Indo-Aryan communities began to import into their life the non-Aryan forms of marriage from the usages of the non-Aryans* with whom they came into more or less contact at a later stage than the Vedic period, and that, so far as the Indo-Aryans are concerned, the more ancient forms are those of the ceremonial group, and not of the non-ceremonial, as is supposed by Mr. Mayne. Even as between the non-ceremonials the Gandharva seems to have been the most ancient of its group with this race. It may be that the ancients somewhere may have been familiar with the non-ceremonial forms before the higher sense of the Aryans evolved the better forms, but, so far as the Aryans of India are concerned, they had their own nobler ways—and these only—in marrying, before they found among their fold members who had been imitating the operations of the lower faculties among their barbarian neighbours in the new country where they were beginning to be associated more and more as townsmen and countrymen with common interests. The Aryans as a whole had to face in this way the double problem of living among neighbours who practised the non-ceremonial forms, and of seeing among their own numbers the rise of classes who imitated them. They seem to have met the former situation in the way already pointed out, that is by dealing measure for measure. Their method of dealing with the second problem seems to have been the result of a later situation, and there are materials that can explain it.

6. The seeds of endogamy seem to have been first sown about the time of this situation and, may be, by the situation itself. While the Aryans in ancient Rome appear at the dawn of their history a self-isolating community, refusing to allow marriages not only between Romans and the other tribes of Italy, but even between Patricians and Plebians, and condescended to relax this stiffness at a very late stage of their history, the dawn of the literature of the Aryans who came here breaks upon us with a scene bristling with intermarriages between Aryan and non-Aryan races, whether it is the Mahabharata or the Ramayana, not to speak of the Puranas, that we open for information upon the subject. *Pari passu* though slowly comes in the literature that shows the Aryans adopting the

* Asvalayana says that one may at marriages recognise the local usages : *see infra. para. 29*, and Asvalayaniya Grihya Sutras, I. 7 (1)

usages of the non-Aryans even when marrying among themselves; but, whenever we are told of the earlier cases illustrative of such adoption, we are also told that it was not quite without repugnance, without a qualm of conscience, and at times even a bold rebellion against the spirit, that the adoption of such usages was allowed. The Niyoga by Vyasa upon the grandmothers of the heroes of the Mahabharata, the procreation of the Pandavas by the gods at the earnest request of their legitimate father to her mother, the polyandry of Draupadi, and the loan of Svetaketu's mother by his father to a brother sage for procreation, are looked upon by Mr. Mayne, and by Mr. Mandlik* as disclosing a state of things where the idea of marriage hardly deserved that name; and we may agree with them so far. But we cannot do so farther. In all these cases the repugnance, the qualm, and the rebellion of the Aryan mind against the adoption of barbarian usages have been pithily and touchingly described in one way or another, though at the same time the prosaic plea of "ancient usage" has been allowed to overrule the sentiment. The two casts of mind so overruling and overruled can only be reconciled when we can presume, if not quite see, that the bulk of our Aryan elders were getting accustomed to the sight of the engraftment of alien usages upon their own stock, while the youngsters and purists who had not been accustomed to move out of the grooves of Aryan sentiments had to be cooled down by the monitions of more experienced heads. The younger generations seem in the long run to have carried the day, as they have usually done all over the world, and they achieved this result by exerting a vast and potent influence upon their Aryan brethren or fellow-tribesmen by the power of their intellect and example. They began to practise endogamy and consequent self-isolation from such of the surrounding communities as were leading lives more or less debased by the adoption of non-Aryan ways of living, and their example must have spread among the people. Associations of men, united by sameness of views and stirred into action by sameness of ideals and sentiments, must have ceased to be connected by intermarriage with others who entertained the more prosaic views of living; and the first groundwork for an eventual arrangement of the Aryans into the various grades of society, now found to be sharply dividing themselves by self-isolation through endogamy and food-and-water barriers, must have commenced in those early days by the initiation of the well-known four-fold divisions of the Indo-Aryans,

* Mandlik's *Hindu Law*, pp. 395 et seq.

with varying and unsteady shades of the endogamous principle to distinguish them. This, and no other, explanation can account for the otherwise glaring self-inconsistencies, contradictions, and divergencies of the ancient writers on the subjects of the so-called approved and disapproved forms as of marriages between higher and lower castes. Modern writers have either stumbled over the matter or ignored it, and it will be enough for present purposes to note that Mr. Mayne's statement that the first four, *i.e.*, the ceremonial forms, are treated by Manu as approved, is not quite accurate, if he means that Manu approved them. For he expressly states that only "three are Dharmya"* after enumerating in a previous verse that the poets or the learned men treat the first *four* forms as "Prasasta" for Brahmanas,† and in another that the first *six* are Dharmya for them.‡ These three statements are obviously inconsistent with one another, and the idea of four forms being approved has been accepted by modern lawyers in utter oblivion of this fact, if not in desperation at the sight of a *prima facie* hopeless inconsistency. If "Prasasta" be the word for "approved," the four forms are approved for Brahmanas only, and there are other approved forms for the rest. If Prasasta mean approved, some other word will also have to be found out to express the meaning of the word "Dharmya" which in one place is predicated of more than four forms and, in another, of less than four. Points of the law of inheritance are made to rest on the distinction between approved and disapproved forms as made by Judges and by writers of Mr. Mayne's authority among others, and it is consequently worth while examining the ground-work of these distinctions. A way of looking at the apparently inconsistent texts of Manu is presented in the next para which will show that the inconsistency is only apparent. And the historical hypothesis offered in the first half of this paragraph will materially assist in understanding the practical bearing of that explanation of the texts.

7. The inconsistencies in question are presented by verses 23, 24, 25, and 26 of Chapter III. of Manu. The first of these says that the four ceremonial forms, the Asura, and the Gandharva, in all six, are "Dharmya" for the Brahmana class, that all the four non-ceremonial forms§ are "Dharmya" for the Kshatriyas, and that all these last ones except the Rakshasa are "Dharmya" for the Vaishyas and Sudras.

* Manu. III. 25. † *Ibid.* 24. ‡ *Ibid.* 23.

§ A careful reading of the verses will show that in calling these four forms Dharmya for the Kshatriyas, Manu did not mean to hold that the ceremonial forms were not Dharmya for them.

This verse has been explained in para. 5 *supra* in connection with intermarriages between the Aryans and the non-Aryans, and, as the verse is not expressly limited to such marriages, we may take it that the same meaning would also apply to marriages between the Aryan communities *inter se*. "Dharmya" would, in that case, and for reasons stated below, seem to mean "permissible at law" or "legalised" in the eyes of the people who would be judging from observation of the actual *practices* of existing communities. Why the Kshatriyas married the non-Aryans under any of the non-ceremonial forms and why the other Aryans were limited to a smaller number in practice has been explained in para. 5. Gradually the same rules of practice would be followed even when both parties to the marriage were Aryans. The way in which the four non-ceremonial forms are called "Dharmya" for the Kshatriyas and nothing is said of the ceremonial forms, two at least of which, viz., the Prajapatya and the Arsha, were certainly open to the Kshatriyas * and were even approved for all communities including these, † would seem to suggest that "Dharmya" in this verse means neither "limited by law" to these forms so as to exclude the Kshatriyas from the better or ceremonial forms, nor "approved," but only "permissible by Dharma or law" if the permitted people chose to stoop to them. That this permission was not from Manu, will appear from verses 25 and 26 explained below, where he states what was "Dharmya" in his eyes. As we do not know of any writer of law previous to Manu, "Dharmya" in this verse 23 must refer to the opinion of the people and to their general sense, which must have been the outcome of the judge-made law of the Aryan judges of the day, who must have in their turn decided, like the provincial prætors of Rome, upon the basis of the usages of both Aryans and non-Aryans, as also according to their own sense of propriety, justice and equity in cases outside the scope of old usages by applying the doctrine of *factum valet*, which is nowhere more extensively used than in even the modern marriage laws of their race. "Dharmya" in this verse means then, "permitted" by the unwritten law of the Indo-Aryans after it had become liberal and comprehensive by absorbing within its body the *jus gentium* which had grown out of the contact of the Aryan and non-Aryan races of ancient India.

8. Verse 24 says that the Kavis "believe that the first four, *i.e.*, the ceremonial, forms are *Prasasta* for Brahmanas, the Rakshasa alone for the Kshatriyas, and the Asura for the Vaishyas and Sudras. The word

* *Infra*, paras. 8, 13, 18.

† *Infra*, par., 8.

Prasasta may mean "approved," but the approval here comes, not from lawyers, as may be seen from the opinions of the lawyers set forth in the verses preceding and following this one, but by the "Kavis." A "Kavi" ordinarily means a poet such as Kavi Kalidas and the like, and it is at times, though rare, used to signify "a learned man" or even "a knower" as Kulluka puts it. Whichever of the two was really meant by Manu, he certainly could not have meant the lawyers by that term; for, as shown, the other verses make the lawyers believe quite differently. The Kavis of this verse seem to have believed very much like that which one might expect either the poetic taste or the layman's learning to relish in a matter so fashionable or æsthetic as the nuptial tie. For who otherwise would *approve*, and not merely permit, a Rakshasa marriage simply because it is a warrior Kshatriya's privilege to indulge in war? And the Kavis would not only approve of this form for the warrior, but would approve of that *alone*—"ekam"—for this pet community. And yet that is *the reason* given by a commentator * of a work on domestic sacred fires to explain this predilection. The subject of the forms is treated in the body of the *Asvalayana Sūtras* (I. 6, 1)† which are, no doubt, ancient. But the commentator, who must have belonged to a much later date, adds the following details:—

"These are the eight marriages. Among the first four (1, Bráhma, 2, Daiva, 3, Prajapatya, and 4, Arsha) of these, each previous one is *Prasastā* (*in comparison*) to the one that follows. Among the rest (*i.e.*, 1, Gandharva, 2, Asura, 3, Paisach, and 4, Rakshasa) each one that follows is more sinful than the one that precedes it. There (among the eight) the first two are for the Brahmana, as the other communities do not accept gifts (such as the Brahma form implies) and do not act as Ritvij-priests (who alone are the bridegrooms in the Daiva form). Gandharva is for the Kshatriya, it being so found in the Puranas. Rakshasa is also for him, he *alone* having to do with battles. As for the Asura, it is for the Vaishya, he having connection with wealth. The other three forms (Prajapatya, Arsha, and Paisacha) *are not confined to any particular community.*"

9. The passage is clear in language, intelligible by reason, and can throw light on other points. In the first place the order of the forms as laid down by Manu ‡ which Mr. Mayne relies upon as being arranged according to the inverse ratio of their antiquity, is essentially different

* Narayana Bhatta, author of the *Gargya-Narayaniya Vritti*, on the *Asvalayana Grihya Sūtra*, published by Pandita Jyestharam Mukundji of Bombay.

† See Introductory Extracts

‡ III, 21.

from that arranged here, as may be seen by a comparison of the two arrangements. Manu's arrangement was only meant for convenience of concise reference to smaller groups of the eight forms in the verses which he has made to follow this. The idea of antiquity was not present to his mind; nor even, as shown, do facts tally with the idea worked out by Mr. Mayne. The only order in which it is possible to arrange them is the one given in the above passage in the order of the religious merits of the different forms. The first place belongs, in order of religious and, we may say, even ethical merits, to the ceremonial group. Among the four forms of this group, Asvalayana, in the above mentioned Sutra, says that the Brahma, the Daiva, the Prajapatya, and the Ārsha forms, by their religious merits sanctify 24, 20, 16, and 14 generations *respectively* of the issue of the pair married under each form. Manu * himself numbers these generations as being 21, 14, 12, and 6 respectively, thus *preserving* the same order of the religious merits of the forms as is laid down by Asvalayana. He adds † that sons born of these marriages are possessed of the Brahmanical calibre of mind, and of beauty, vigour, wealth, religious-mindedness, and longevity up to a hundred years. The sons born of the other or wicked marriages turn out liars, wicked men and haters of the Brahmanical Dharma—a belief which may be explained by referring the reader to the character and complaints of the bastard in Shakespeare's *King Lear*. That the ceremonial and non-ceremonial groups should be approved and disapproved respectively, as stated by Manu, by the Kavis of his time, can now be understood and appreciated. Whether the Kavis were of the species of the author of *King Lear*, or of the commentator of Asvalayana, may not be quite certain; and the fact that the power of the groups of forms to endow-sons with particular calibres has been noted by Manu as a phenomenon in nature, is not one which seems to have weighed with him in his character of law-giver, as will be apparent later on from the verses where he says that in reality all but three forms are Adharmya or illegal. When, therefore, he speaks of the four ceremonials being Prasasta, and adds that they are so for Brahmanas, while there are other forms which are Prasasta for other communities, his express words that in so stating he is only re-iterating the opinion of the Kavis are not to be taken as surplusage, for he does also intend to distinguish this from his own opinion as law-giver. The passage from Asvalayana's commentator shows further that Prasasta is opposed to "more sinful" and therefore means only "more virtuous," in deed and

* Manu III. 37-38.

† Manu III. 39-40-41.

result so far as the believers believe. The word would be more appropriately and adequately translated as meaning "Preferred in comparison" than as meaning "approved," but it seems that the preference or approval has at all events no necessary connection with the law-giver who approves and even dictates a different arrangement as his conclusion. One thing is Prasasta in the eyes of the Kavis who had made a sharp division between the group which was evolved from the Vedic nuptials and the group which had come to them as an infection from the non-Aryan barbarians, and with a sentiment for what is one's own and against what is not so, the Kavis call the former Prasasta* at all events for the religious section—the Brahmanas—of their race, and view the other forms with different shades of approval for their other sections, and with absolute disapproval so far as the Brahmanas are concerned. These last seemed in the eyes of the Kavi to mar the picture of their sanctity by having anything to do with the non-Aryan forms. The law-giver after reciting this sectarian view, proceeds, as will be seen, to sift the matter with a more analytical, unprejudiced, and practical genius than merely racial or religious sentiments could suggest.

(To be continued.)

G. M. TRIPATHI.

* Compare this statement as to *four* forms being Prasasta for Brahmanas with that as to *six* being Dharmya for them in para. 7.

INDIAN CIVIL SERVICE EXAMINATIONS.

THE good and evil of the modern method of selecting candidates for the Indian Civil Service has all been urged over and over again. It has been shown that competition shows grit, implies a man's origin in the cultivated classes, and affords a door, open if not ideally perfect, whereby the natives can gain admission into the body by which their country is administered. On the other hand, critics urge that in excluding dunces it has eliminated two kinds of young men who were not without their uses. Since the system was introduced there have not been many among the successful candidates, who, by belonging to distinguished families, helped to make India a subject of interest in Parliament and in London Society. In the early Victorian period a good number of the members of the Service were younger sons of county magnates, inured to out-door sport and accustomed to the management of men. A more tangible objection—if it could be proved—was that the examinations excluded mental superiority. It was argued that very good men might be swept into the net when it was cast among lads of sixteen; but that a man over twenty-one, who had given his proofs at a good University, would be greatly tempted to remain in England, take a tutorial fellowship, or encounter the chances of politics or of the Bar. Such a man as the late Lord Lawrence or the present Sir Alfred Lyall might occasionally be turned up by the vicissitudes of nature in the worst days of nomination: the most unlucky whist-player must sometimes have the ace of trumps dealt him. But the authorities at Balliol would hardly let a Curzon or a Milner go out to be a Tax-gatherer in Bengal.

Such is the well-known controversy, decided long since by the unappealable verdict of facts. *Beati possidentes*: Competition

holds the field, and has evidently come to stay. It may, however, be hereafter subjected to modifications; the changes that have been already made forbid us to regard the existing system as altogether final. A more interesting, because more practical, enquiry, would be one into the details of the examination and the methods on which the system works. Taking the object to be the provision of the best apprentices for a difficult profession, it might be worth our while to look into the tests devised for that purpose by the Civil Service Commissioners.

Some of the papers put before the candidates are devoted to the discovery of skill in mathematics, some to test scholarship in Greek and Latin: of these we need not reason. To evince acquaintance with old-world knowledge of this kind may not form a proof of efficiency for administration; otherwise there would be less point in such fiction as that of Goldsmith or Walter Scott; and the world would recognise its ideal public servants, in Dr. Primrose and Dominie Sampson; certainly, a man will not be usually held fitter for dealing with pestilence in an Indian Bazaar because he has read of the plague of Athens in Thucydides; nor will a knowledge of the differential calculus avail him in composing the differences among tribes on the N.-W. Frontier. That may be so; yet the statement hardly transcends the mark of an average Philistine Criticism. So long as you endeavour to get at a certain class of candidates, you will doubtless have to take your tests from the curriculum in which that class is wont to run: if you want candidates from British Universities, you must examine them in subjects which those Universities teach. Few experts are prepared to demand that British Universities shall cashier the study of "Humane Letters" or of abstract reasoning.

It is rather when we come to other subjects that criticism is legitimately provoked. First and foremost, let us take some of the papers on history and political science, surely second to none in view of the duties awaiting the successful candidate. Now, what should we be disposed to consider to be appropriate enquiries in this direction? Would it not be questions likely to show a knowledge of actual facts and events bearing upon the evolution of various races, in different regions and different stages of civilisation, not omitting the tribes of Asia, and particularly of the Indian

Peninsula in which the candidates desire to be employed? Such does not appear to be by any means the view of the Examiners. Take a few specimens out of the questions, sixty-six in number, which have come under our notice in this connection.

"Distinguish the strong and weak points of the English Church in the thirteenth century." "Account for the formation and break-up of the Conservative party led by Peel." "Compare the results which followed upon the intervention of Arnulf in Italy with those which attended the intervention of Otho I." "Show how the reign of Lothar the Saxon constituted an epoch in the history both of the Welfs in Germany and of the Normans in Italy." "Estimate the economic significance of the formation of Trusts in modern business, pointing out their chief advantages and disadvantages and the main conditions of success or failure." "How far is material wealth a necessary condition of national greatness?" "How far, and in what sense, may the political standpoint of the Utilitarians be truly called scientific?" "Should public opinion affect Government directly or indirectly?" "Note, in the United Kingdom and British Empire, the chief stages in the history of religious toleration." "Contrast the politics of Chatham and Burke."

Now, it is evident that such questions evince much thought and information on the part of the Examiners; but are they appropriate, or even fair to the young men? There is not one among them, connected with the rise of British power in Hindustan or with that of the Russians in Central Asia, though a knowledge of such things seems obviously more requisite, in the circumstances, than what is asked about Arnulf or "the Welfs." Burke's relations with Chatham are of no importance here, compared with his attitude and action towards Chatham's son in the affair of Warren Hastings; nor need the aspects of toleration in the British Empire give as much trouble if we can understand the causes, conditions, and consequences attending the attempted reforms of Akbar.

That Asiatic history and politics should not be matter of study or curiosity to the average British M. P., or to the constituency by which he is sent to govern the Empire, is not only natural but, in some respects, a ground for gratification. Were it otherwise, were it as easy to interest the House of Commons about Imperial

questions as about such as are purely parochial, we might have all sorts of fads and crotchets introduced into Indian administration. Lord Metcalfe once said that if India were ever lost, it would be on the floor of the House of Commons. But it does not follow that such subjects should be entirely excluded from the purview of those by whom that administration is to be conducted. British rule in India has never erred on the side of excessive sympathy; and European ideas and principles have always had quite as much scope as was at all good for the people; even such a qualified expert as the late Lord Lawrence going as far as any one in that direction. But that is no reason why Indian history and its lessons should be entirely ignored: it is a branch of knowledge essential to a right understanding of the future Civilian's duties; and it is one that can only be mastered *in statu pupillari*. Once embarked in district work and departmental examinations, the young officer will have no time or opportunity for studying the subject.

The defects observable in the present papers are attributable to defects in those by whom they were prepared, leading them to gratify their own conceptions without advertence to the objects in view. These examinations are intended primarily to discover men to be selected for offices in India, leading, in due course to posts as Judge, Prefect, Member-of-Council, and Provincial Ruler: with emoluments and pensions on the scale of Cabinet Ministers in Europe. To these are now added minor prizes, employments of trust and honour under the Colonial Office and under the Foreign Office; though the appointments to India are in many ways the most important. The unsuitableness of some of the papers—especially in regard to India—has been pointed out; but it must not be supposed that the criticism is in any degree levelled at the Civil Service Commissioners. These are officials of much experience, one being a recognised authority on English Literature. They may not consider the revision of these examination papers a part of their duty; but there is one thing that might, perhaps, be expected at their hands. A little more care in the selection of persons employed to frame the questions might, indeed, certainly would, ensure the candidates from being harassed by what, in the original sense of the word, must appear “impertinent” enquiries. If classics and mathematics are to

remain integral and indispensable elements of modern education, some such means of testing acquirements as are now employed must, obviously, be maintained. But the papers in French and German leave much to be desired : it cannot be a criterion of useful knowledge to construe Norman ballads in *langue d'oïl*, or to turn Platt-Deutsch into High German. Still less appropriate is it to plunge the luckless candidate into a morass of disquisition on ancient or existent politics, as to which he may have formed an opinion of his own diametrically opposed to that of the examiner. Young men aspiring to Colonial and Indian employment are entitled to have their qualifications determined by examiners who are at once men-of-the-world and acquainted with the subjects on which it is of the most importance for the candidates to be informed. And some separate opening ought to be provided for the admission to high office of members of the local services, wider than any that is at present available.

H. G. KEENE.

CRIMINAL LAW AND PROCEDURE AS OBTAINING IN THE WEST AND THE EAST.*

I CONFINE myself, in this paper, to what may be called a comparative view of the principles and practice of law as applied in the United Kingdom and America, on the Continent of Europe, in India, and, I venture to add (for I was so long there directing the Administration of Justice), in Egypt. In the limited space at my disposal I find it impossible to deal with both branches of the law, Civil as well as Criminal, and I have decided to consider the Criminal side alone.

It is necessary for the purposes of comparison to state briefly the various stages of the Criminal investigation and trial, first in England and then on the Continent. I will introduce parenthetically the divergencies from both systems which have been carried out in India and which I myself introduced in Egypt.

The present system of English Criminal law and procedure is a gradual development from the simple days when the juries, chosen strictly from the district, were both witnesses and judges, and fines and damages were generally substituted for the present system of punishment. Gradually, juries became merely judges of facts furnished by witnesses whose evidence was given under oath, and they were guided as regards law by the King's Judges. It took centuries to effect this transformation, and the preliminary investigation before a magistrate was similarly an institution of gradual growth. People gradually became aware of their rights as society developed, and good lawyers were ready at hand to advise them. In fact, like the rest of our constitution, our system of Criminal Justice slowly developed to meet the growing needs of the country, and it was never written as constitutions nowadays usually are. I would always deprecate sudden or violent changes in existing systems. The present system suits the country, and the Administration of Justice is on a sound basis—I might

* Based on an unreported lecture.

even add sounder than in any other country in the world. The main difference between our system and the system which obtains on the Continent lies in the fact that the Continental system is what is called inquisitorial, whilst the English system is litigious, or contradictory. These two phrases require explanation. By inquisitorial, I mean, that the investigation of crime is an enquiry made by the State on behalf of society into every breach of criminal law. The British litigious or *accusatory* system is an enquiry instituted in most cases by the person injured by the offence and not by the State. The tendency of the first system is to think too much of the safety and security of society and to sacrifice the individual to the community. The tendency of the second system is to protect the individual, to surround him with safeguards, and to believe him innocent, whatever his antecedents may be, until he is proved guilty according to law. Neither system, to my mind, is absolutely right. In the early stages of society, when the due respect of the rights of others is only maintained by a strong hand and stringent repression of wrong-doing, which sometimes cannot wait for the formalities of the law, the first plan is best. I will give you an instance of what I mean. Mahomet Ali, the founder of the present Egyptian dynasty, ruled with a strong hand, and one day he heard that Upper Egypt was in the hands of brigands, that the property and even life of his subjects were in constant danger, and that a certain village near Assiout harboured and fed the chief offenders. Without any formal investigation or judicial enquiry, he ordered that village to be utterly destroyed and the inhabitants to be left to shift for themselves. This was done—promptly, sternly done. It is difficult to say that the order was just. But it was very effectual. There was no more brigandage in Egypt for many years, and I remember hearing Nubar Pacha say that in those days a Fellah woman (a peasant woman) might walk alone without danger from First Cataract to Alexandria with her gold bangles on her arm. In those days, I may add parenthetically, the peasantry used to put their savings not into banks but into gold ornaments.

But as society advances the need of strong measures decreases and the strong hand of arbitrary repression gives way to the Reign of Law. With us here in England, and with all English-speaking people, the protection of the individual against injustice is now paramount. He is presumed to be innocent until he is found guilty, and he is safeguarded by the strictest rules of evidence which the Judge is bound to enforce and the jury is bound to obey. He may

have been steeped in crime from his infancy, he may have endless previous convictions registered against him, but his antecedent record is not allowed to appear, and he is tried solely and entirely on the particular facts of the particular case. Everything is done to protect him, nothing is done to condemn him until he comes before the jury at the final trial. Then he can have counsel to protect his interests, if he wishes; if he cannot afford counsel and the charge is serious, he has counsel assigned to him, and if he has no counsel to protect his interests, the Judge watches over the case as the prisoner's friend as well as the administrator of justice. The rules of evidence are strictly observed, no hearsay testimony is allowed, and finally, the prisoner can only be found guilty by the unanimous verdict of twelve honest, intelligent, and impartial men who can only condemn when there is no reasonable hypothesis on the facts in favour of innocence.

So far, I have dealt with the generalities of difference between our system and that which obtains elsewhere outside the English-speaking race. I must now ask you to bear with me while I describe the two systems in more detail. Let us take our own system first. An offence has been committed. Circumstances show that life has been taken unlawfully, or that the right to property has been infringed by burglary or ordinary theft, or that personal violence has been exercised on some member of society without provocation. In England, the matter must be reported to the Police, and, unless the case is of considerable importance, the person who has suffered has to take all the trouble of the prosecution, or the prosecution will drop. There is a Public Prosecutor's Department in England, but it has not somehow "caught on," to use a slang phrase, and only appears in cases of great importance. Now, what would happen in France, or Italy, or Belgium, or, in short, any country where Napoleon's laws have been adopted? Whatever the offence was, if it was a breach of the Criminal Code, it would be submitted by the police to the Parquet which in English means the Public Prosecutor's Department. It would *at once* pass into the hands of the State as an infringement of law, which must be repressed, as the whole community rests on the basis of obedience to the Law. The injured individual would have no further voice save that he could claim civil damages before the criminal court for any pecuniary loss he had suffered of a sufficiently direct character from the breach of criminal law. If he had suffered loss in an attack on his property or on his person, the criminal court can award him compensation as well as punish the offender.

Now to return to the British system. A man is "run in" by the police for an offence. He is taken by the police before the magistrate. No person appears at that stage officially for the State as prosecutor. A police constable is, I think, still appointed as the formal prosecutor. But all the proceedings are public, the accused is present throughout, and he can be represented by counsel. Evidence is taken with as much formality as if the final trial were taking place. If no case can be made out sufficient to send on for trial, the Magistrate can dismiss the charge altogether and let the accused go free. If the evidence is sufficient for further investigation, he commits the man for trial and he then appears in the ordinary way before judge and jury.

Returning to the continental system, the base of the pyramid of criminal justice in France and all other countries which have not adopted our system is what is called the Parquet and the judicial police, who are under the orders of the Parquet. It is so called because Parquet means floor, and the members of the Parquet were supposed to stand on the floor of the court whilst the Judges sat in their chairs. The head of the whole Parquet of France is the Procureur-Général, who holds equal rank with the members of the Supreme Court of Cassation. Under him there are Procureurs-Généraux attached to each of the Courts of Appeal in France, of which there are twenty-six, and under each of those subordinate Procureurs there are other Procureurs of a lesser degree. Under them comes the Police Judiciaire who are the last rungs of the ladder, and have to bring every criminal to justice. Now, what is done to bring the criminal to justice? Every offence must be reported to the Parquet. Private prosecutors are not permitted. The offence is an offence against the State and must be dealt with by the State. A great deal may be said for this theory.

A is accused of an offence. If it is petty offence or a merely nominal criminal contravention, such as we have in England, in the breaches of municipal regulations, he is taken before the Juge de Paix of the district and dealt with summarily. Otherwise, he is taken before a *Juge d'Instruction*. (There are nearly 400 of these officials in France, to my mind the most formidable personnage in the whole system of French Criminal Law. He has every kind of power. He can detain an accused person in prison for a fortnight. He can call him before him at any time, and ask him such questions as he pleases. Some twenty years ago, I had the great advantage of sitting for a few days with a *Substitut du Procureur*, who was

really working all the business of the great "Tribunal de la Seine." I thought he did it very well. He was hard on old offenders, but very gentle with those who did not come within the rank of hardened criminals. Still, his tendency, and the tendency of the Prosecuting Department of every country outside England and America, is rather to suppress crime by punishment of the offender than to protect the accused from an unjust conviction. I remember very well a visit I made with my friend, the French Judge, to a house where an unfortunate young woman lay very ill, but under the charge of infanticide. The question turned on whether she had killed the child or whether the child had died. We stood by the bed-side—the Judge, a doctor, myself and a clerk, who wrote down what she said. I shall never forget her persistent answer: "Je ne l'ai pas tué—je ne l'ai pas tué!" nor shall I forget the equally persistent question, "You know you are guilty; why not tell the truth?" I am glad to think such a thing is impossible in England. Now we pass from the preliminary enquiry in each system to the Final Trial. A crime is committed in France or Italy. The Police proceed to the spot and make a *procès verbal*, an official report, which is subsequently received as evidence, of all the facts, whilst at the same time they inform the *Parquet* (the Public Prosecutor's department), and a member of the *Parquet* attends and superintends the first investigation, if he is able to get there in time. If the *Parquet* is too far away, the Police conduct the enquiry alone. The next step is to place the matter in the hands of a *Juge d'Instruction*, who corresponds to our Magistrate. Until three years ago, the accused at this stage was denied the assistance of Counsel, but since 1897 he is entitled to the assistance of Counsel after he has once appeared before a Judge and a formal charge has been made against him. But reservations are made as regards his rights, which will seem strange to you. His Counsel cannot address the Judge without leave, he can only solicit the sanction of the Judge for any measure—he cannot insist on it—he thinks should be taken in the interest of the accused, and he has no right to be present at the examination of witnesses, who, as a rule, are interrogated by the Judge alone, not even in the presence of the accused. The natural consequence of this rigid procedure is that the preliminary investigation really, in nine cases out of ten, decides the ultimate result, and the final trial is only a solemn form. Passing to another point, I hardly think I go too far when I say there is no law of evidence on the continent. The Judges accept any and every kind of testimony, and our strict exclusion of hearsay has no place. As an able foreign Judge once said to me, "We take

everything *quantum valet*"—and the phrase evidently pleased him. Now and then the Jury take a view in complete opposition to the conclusions of the Enquiring Judge, and find the prisoner not guilty, in spite of the facts, but this only occurs when the case is of an emotional, sensational character, and a member of the gentler sex has for good reason taken the law into her own hands. But this new French law is only a step in the right direction, and does not go far enough. Outside the English-speaking people still the dread of crime and of the danger to Society are predominant. The repression of crime and the security of Society take the first place: justice to the accused comes a long way second.

Everything changes as you cross the channel. Here, in England, a man is deemed innocent until he is proved guilty; every proceeding is public: all witnesses are examined in the presence of the accused. He can be assisted by counsel. He can call witnesses on his side. The rules of evidence are strictly observed. At the final trial the whole preliminary proceeding is ignored, and a completely new investigation of the case is carried out before the Jury. An objection, based on the need of celerity of punishment of crime, has been raised to this elaborate enquiry before a Magistrate. It is even maintained that the Magisterial enquiry amounts to a double trial. But it must be remembered that the Magistrate has very summary powers and can either dismiss a case as having no foundation or can punish summarily unless the charge is one of great importance. Save that there is no Jury, the preliminary enquiry before the Magistrate is conducted on the same principle. Publicity, the right of defence by Counsel, the power of calling witnesses for the prisoner, the strict application of the law of evidence, and the absolute exclusion of hearsay are all carried out before the Magistrate just as much as before the Judge and Jury. Previous convictions are absolutely ignored during the trial, and are only allowed to appear after conviction, when they naturally affect the sentence. May I give an example? It would be impossible in England for the following scene—at which I was present—to occur. There were present, my friend, the Juge d'Instruction, the clerk and myself. A prisoner was brought in. The offence charged was forgery.

The Judge began "Were you ever in Lille?" "No, sir." "Quite sure?" "Certainly, I was never in Lille." "Then the official paper I hold in my hands does not state the truth when it says you were condemned for *escroquerie* at Lille three years ago?" "Ah! well, sir, now I do remember I was at Lille." "And condemned?" "Yes, sir."

The same dialogue occurred as regards an offence at Amiens, the same shiftiness, the same final acknowledgment. Then the suave judicial manner suddenly changed, and the Judge said with severity, "Now, why do you waste the time of justices—why do you not at once tell me you are guilty of the offence now charged?" "Because, sir, I am not guilty." "Oh well," said the Judge "if you will not admit your guilt I must prove it," and then the bundle of papers before him was undone and a long cross-examination ensued—just as severe as if an Old Bailey barrister was cross-examining a hostile witness. The inquisitorial system has evidently its advantages. It is hardly possible under it for a guilty person to escape conviction. But an innocent person may now and again be condemned, which is totally contrary to our English notions of criminal justice. In Egypt we took a middle course. We adopted the French system which entrusts the prosecution of all crime to the Government as the guardian of the interests of society. But every proceeding was public, and the Judge was not permitted to examine the prisoner in a hostile manner. In India there is a Government pleader attached to every Court, but he only presents the case in Court, and in the preparation of the evidence the police are all-powerful. I am inclined to think the Indian plan is the best of the three systems.

The multiplicity of Judges is a principle adopted by all continental systems. Excepting for contraventions of police regulations, three Judges invariably sit together, and the one-judge system is 'anathema' to the continental jurist. He argues that three minds are better than one; that it is impossible to bribe three judges, whilst one may be accessible, that discussion clarifies the brain of each and produces a sound collective judgment; and that the presence of three judges is more imposing from the ceremonial side of justice and more convincing to the public than the presidency of one alone. But what is the practical immediate consequence of the three-judge system? It means that judges are badly paid. In England, judges are, so far as salary goes, absolutely independent of every other consideration than their conscience, whilst in France it must be difficult not merely to maintain the dignity and prestige of their office, but even, unless they have large private income, to rise superior to financial considerations in the conduct of business. A short comparison of the Judicial pay in the two countries will show what I mean. In England, the Lord Chancellor receives £10,000 a year and the Bow Street Magistrate receives £1,800. In France, the President of the Court of Cassation receives

£1,200 a year, while a Judge of First Instance only receives from £300 to £72, according to his rank. It is really the number that tells, and you cannot pay hundreds as you can pay tens. Now I have worked in practice both systems, the one-judge system and the multiple system, at different times of my life. From the theoretical side, perhaps, three judges will seem to you better than one. But in reality one judge is, in my opinion, infinitely the best for every question of first instance; and even in appeal, where of course there must be more than one judge, I would keep to small numbers. In the first place, as I have pointed out, you can pay judges much better if you limit their numbers, and good pay means good judges, bad pay means indifferent judges. In the second place, and this is equally important, the sense of individual responsibility is lost in a multiplicity of judges, and the president really does all the work. I sat for some years in a court of appeal where eight judges constituted the *quorum*, yet, as a matter of fact, two or three did all the work. The president really conducted all the discussions, the rest of us sat by and listened. Some of us wrote judgments some did not. But the president really worked the system, and yet was able to throw the responsibility on his colleagues when a judgment was given that did not give satisfaction. When I was in Egypt I took what was at the time considered a revolutionary line. Our financial resources were small, and the provincial districts were denuded of judges because three were required for the hearing of every case. We made a law under which all civil cases within the limits of £100, and all criminal cases where the maximum punishment did not go beyond two years, were submitted to the decision of a single judge. It is, as you know, in a primitive country, impossible to find the honest and intelligent class of men who furnish the juries in England; consequently I sent out my judges, taking care that all had been provided with a legal education, and also taking care that all were sufficiently paid to be beyond the reach of corruption, and I established a summary court, civil and criminal, in every town of any importance throughout Upper and Lower Egypt. I introduced the reform with fear and trembling. The French party, which was strong in those days in Egypt, were ready to criticise, and certainly not ready to praise; still the result was eminently satisfactory. I must add that I safeguarded the interests of parties, whether on the criminal or the civil side, by importing from India a system of judicial inspection conducted by able lawyers who were well paid and who made reports to the Ministry of Justice regarding the efficiency of each of these

summary courts. In addition, I introduced the Indian system, which obliges every court, great or small, to send monthly returns of their work to the High Court. In a highly civilised country, where law and order are the natural course, all these precautions and safeguards will seem almost an infringement of the independence of the judicial office. But, to use a homely proverb, the proof of the pudding is in the eating, and as a matter of fact the plan succeeded admirably for Egypt. I adopted it from India, where an effective system of discipline over individual judges has been found necessary, and appeal, reference to the High Courts, revision by the High Courts, and general superintendence are all applied with great advantage.

The one-judge system requires, in my opinion, some kind of appeal on points of law in order to maintain the consistency of jurisprudence in every country on the continent. In Egypt and in India, an appeal, even on the facts, in criminal cases is allowed, where the jury system does not obtain. But I have a strong opinion that the judge who sees the witnesses, especially if he is aided by a jury or by assessors, is much more to be trusted on any decision of fact, than a court of appeal, however ably constituted, who can only read the record of the proceedings. Questions of law should be submitted to a higher court, as a matter of course. Questions of fact, I think, on the whole, are better left to the Court of First Instance. But it is of capital importance that the Judge of First Instance should be an able lawyer and very well paid: and if that is the case, I would prefer his opinion to that of any other court which has not seen the witnesses and observed their demeanour. Yet, in my dealings with various nations, I have found that most people are very much inclined in favour of a general appeal even in criminal cases. I speak with great submission, because I feel most people would take the other view, but I think there should be no appeal whatever in criminal cases on questions of fact, and that the appeal should be strictly limited to points of law. I would make that appeal as speedy as possible, and I would present it to the strongest court that could be constituted. The Court of Crown Cases Reserved is such a court, but it is difficult to bring the members together with the promptitude that seems to me necessary in criminal matters.

As remarked above, I have seen various systems and been in a position to compare them with our English system of criminal law. There are several points in which we compare unfavourably with other systems—there are, of course, many where

our law and procedure are excellent. But I will dwell rather on the deficiencies of the English system. A codification of criminal law has been carried out in every country save England. I see no reason why it should not be carried out here. The Indian Penal Code, which was drafted by Lord Macaulay, has proved an admirable success. The Penal Codes which are applied in all the countries of continental Europe are an equal success. They are founded on the work of the first Napoleon, and I am fully convinced that long after his useless conquests are forgotten, he will go down to posterity, as he said himself, with his Code in his hand. May I quote a paragraph from a lecture I read at the Society of Arts recently? I said: "I will briefly summarise the advantages of a Code. The law is comprised in such limits that every person in the country is able to know it. The lawyers can have it at their fingers' ends, the judges can apply it without hesitation. In a country such as India or Egypt, where there is a feeble press and little sound public opinion, and the masses are only on the edge of civilisation, a Code has more advantages than it would possess in a country like England. Yet every other nation has codified its laws. England stands alone." When I was a young man, the pendulum of public opinion had swung to the side of codification. I fear it has now swung back in favour of the present system. But, occasionally, public opinion is wrong. It may perhaps be difficult to codify Civil law, but there is no similar difficulty as regards criminal law. And it seems to me a great pity that the congeries of consolidated statutes, digests, rules of common law, decisions of judges, should not all be boiled down into one small book such as comprises the French Codes, where the whole of the Criminal law of England could be found in a compendious form. In a similar way, the law of evidence has been codified for India, and could be codified for England. It seems to me, when judges sit alone, the old rules are sometimes disregarded. They are useful and could not be safely dispensed with.

Passing on to what seems evidently our next want, I think the duty of criminal investigation should be taken over entirely by the State. There is an office of Public Prosecutor in England, and the gentleman in charge of the office can take up any case he thinks sufficiently important. But in my opinion, every case where the interests of society, and the security of the community are concerned, should be conducted by the State itself. Private individuals, who have been injured as regards their property or their person, should not be called upon to conduct what after all is a public prosecution, although every facility should

be given them if they wish or desire to assist in the prosecution. Probably, every well-informed lawyer knows that the system of official investigation and prosecution of crime has long prevailed in Scotland. The public prosecutors in the Highest Court are the Lord Advocate and his deputies, the Solicitor-General and four Advocates Depute. In the inferior courts it is the Procurator Fiscal of each county, or borough, or police court, as the case may be. Private persons, specially wronged by the offence, may also prosecute, but such prosecutions are hardly known. Every person arrested is entitled to the assistance of Counsel at the first preliminary examination, but the prosecution is conducted by the Public Prosecutor's Department. In England, we have the means now, if we wish, to make the prosecution of crime a public duty thrown on a public department. In the Prosecution of Offences Acts of 1879 and 1884, there is to be found the *nucleus* of the system of the public action such as obtains in other countries in case of crime. Under these Acts, the Solicitor to the Treasury acts as director of public prosecution under the Attorney-General. But both of these high officials have many other duties, and the outcome of the present system, worked as it is now, is small. The annual average of cases by jury on indictment for the five years ending 1897 was 11,633; if the indictable cases disposed of summarily were included, the annual average would be 53,174. Yet, in the year 1897, only 414 cases were prosecuted by the Public Prosecutor. We are slow in the matter of legal reform: *festina lente* is our motto. But as we accepted the principle of the Public Prosecution of Crime, and as Society is interested in the repression of all crime, why should we not make the system more thorough? On these two points, to which I have briefly alluded, I think we might take example from our neighbours. In other matters, I would confidently say that in the conduct of a criminal trial from the first moment when a crime has been committed, down to the last moment, when the prisoner has been convicted, our English system is the best the world has produced, for a settled civilised community.

JOHN SCOTT.

FAMINE LITERATURE.

“Famines in India,” by Romesh Dutt, C.I.E. (Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co., Ltd., London).

“Famine in India—Precaution,” by R. Carstairs, I.C.S. (In the *Imperial and Asiatic Quarterly Review*).

BOTH these publications are from the pens of members of the Indian Civil Service, experts in the matters of which they write, whose opinions are accordingly worthy of our most serious consideration. They do not deal, except incidentally, with the existing distressful state of matters, which has been painfully brought before our eyes by means of photographs of starving people taken from life, and in numerous descriptions in newspapers and periodicals, written by eye-witnesses, but endeavour to point out what, in the opinions of the writers, are the measures that should be taken in the future, if not to prevent the recurrence of these terrible calamities, at all events to mitigate their hardships. Prevention is, of course, not in the hand of man. We cannot control the great natural phenomenon of the deflection towards the south-west of the south-east trade winds in consequence of the great heat during the summer months on the vast continent of India and Asia, that brings up the moisture-laden vapours, the contents of which are precipitated on the continent in what is called the South-west Monsoon, or rainy season, commencing in June and ending about September. To those who are unacquainted with this beneficent provision of nature it may be as well to explain that the agriculture of almost the whole of India depends on the fall of rain that takes place in these four months, the word *Monsoon* being merely a corruption of the Arabic word *Māssum*, a season. Some parts of the continent also benefit by the rain that falls more or less abundantly on the setting in again of the north-east trade winds, when the ecliptic turns towards the south, but the rainy season on which the whole of India depends is, *par excellence*, that of the four months mentioned. The great natural phenomenon

of the deflection of the south-east trade wind never fails as a whole, but as the operation extends over many thousands of miles, it might be expected that the currents of air would be stronger or weaker in certain regions: the rain-bearing clouds would empty their contents plentifully or otherwise on certain tracts of land, and partial failure of crops would sometimes naturally result. Hence, in one year the North-west Provinces or the Punjab might suffer, in another Gujarat and the Central Provinces. There is one region, however, that more than any others has a very precarious rainfall, and that is the tract towards the centre of the continent of India lying to the east of what are called the Western Ghats, the long volcanic range that runs at some little distance inland from the Indian Ocean from the river Nerbudda southwards. There the clouds precipitate themselves on this range, the Syhádri Mountains, and pass comparatively dry over the intermediate tract of country lying between them and the Bay of Bengal. Hence the more frequent occurrence of scarcity in this than in any other part of India. The book mentioned at the head of this article, in addition to quoting the opinions of various authorities on the question of the assessment of land to Land Revenue, contains a reprint of five open letters to the Governor-General of India, Lord Curzon, on that question in connection with its effect on the condition of Indian agriculturists, particularly in times of famine, and especially with regard to the Central Provinces, Madras, Bombay, Bengal and Northern India. To each of these we propose to devote a short space.

The Central Provinces.—After a brief description of the state of matters previous to the first regular settlement of the land after 1860, it goes on to point out two mistakes that were made in that settlement, (1st) that the rents payable by cultivators to landlords (*Malguzárs*) were fixed too high, and (2nd) that the revenue payable by *Malguzárs* to the Government was also fixed too high. We are by no means sure that an initial mistake was not made further back than this, that is, in the institution of *Malguzárs* in the first instance. Without, however, going back to the beginning of things, as we have to deal with those things as they exist, the fact may be noted that *Malguzárs* had to be looked for, and were in fact the invention of the first administrators of these Provinces under British rule. These hailed from Northern India, and had not been accustomed to and disapproved of direct dealings between the State and its tenants, as they exist in Bombay and Madras under what is called the *Ryotwári*

system. This arose from the mistaken notion that the interposition of landlords between the two saved an immensity of detailed administrative labour that could be done away through such interposition. However, it is said that "the principle adopted in the settlement of the Central Provinces after 1860 was that *one-half the net produce of the soil* should be paid by cultivators as rent to landlords. The net produce was ascertained by deducting from the gross produce the supposed cost of cultivation. Owing to the uncertain nature of such calculations it resulted that about one-third of the gross produce was deducted as the cost of cultivation, and one-half the remainder was fixed as the rent payable by cultivators to landlords, that is, virtually, one-third the gross produce, a rate unexampled in Bengal or Northern India, and double the rate prescribed by the old Hindu law. This assumption may perhaps be somewhat exaggerated, but it at all events tends to show that but a small portion of the gross produce was left to the cultivator for the support of himself and his family, and the continuance of cultivation. The other mistake made in this settlement, one that would have been avoided if the system of there being no intermediate person to deal with between the State and its tenants had been adopted, for there would have been no *Malguzárs* at all, was to demand an unduly large share of the *Malguzár's* assets as Government revenue. Although the principle had been laid down by the Government of India that only one-half of the *Malguzár's* assets should be demanded as revenue, sometimes as much as 75 per cent. was fixed as the revenue to be taken. This, considering the position and responsibilities of the *Malguzar*, was undoubtedly too high. Instances have been known in the Bombay Presidency in older days where as much as 70 per cent. was taken from *Tálukdars* in Gujarat, a class of landlords holding a position somewhat analogous to that of the *Malguzars*, but it has largely, there can be no doubt, contributed to their degradation and ruin.

After this came a new settlement subsequently to 1890. Under this it is said that the rents fixed can be paid with difficulty in good years, that they have no fair margin for saving for bad years, and that they can never be realized by the *Malguzars* from year to year. Large tracts of land formerly cultivated have gone out of cultivation owing to over-assessment, and *Malguzars* have been known to apply to surrender their estates in order to be relieved of their liability to pay the revenue; and to have been refused. In addition to this, the usual guaranteed period of settlement has been reduced,

so as to leave little chance of a recovery through extension of cultivation. The system of re-assessment of the land is described as a classification of soils after crop experiments and local enquiry, the incidence of the old rental on each "soil unit" being ascertained in the following manner.

A village has 600 acres of 1st class lands,
and 400 acres of 2nd class.
Rate of 1st class soil to 2nd class is 20 to 12.
The old rental of the village is Rs. 1,000.
Acres 600 by 20 = 12,000
400 by 12 = 4,800

Total ... 16,800 soil units

Incidence of old rental per soil unit $\frac{\text{Rs. } 1,000}{16,800} = .95$, or nearly one anna.

After this the Settlement Officer decided on "general considerations" what enhancement he would impose on the village, and, having done this, he calculated at what rate it fell per soil unit. The standard unit enhancement rate was then applied to the holding of each cultivator according to the "soil units" comprised in his holding. All this is very vague, for we are given no idea of what these general considerations may have been, whether they had due regard to the advance in prosperity or the opposite of the Province by the evidence of increase or decrease in the area of cultivation during the expiring settlement, the advancement or deterioration of the general condition of the people, the improvement of the means of communication and the establishment of markets for the disposal of produce, and to other signs of the beneficial or harmful effects of the old system which should suggest themselves to any one who studied the circumstances. We must take this on trust, but if all here is as it should be, we cannot agree in the advisability, in the interest of either the state or its subjects, of the further step reported, viz., the fixing of the Government demand for revenue at from 60 to 65 per cent. of the *Malguzars'* assets, in addition to 12½ per cent. added as local taxes, the total demand thus amounting to 70 or 80 per cent. of those assets. If such is the actual state of affairs, and we have no reason to doubt that it is, we are in no way surprised at Mr. Dutt's remarks and his demand for immediate enquiry into the circumstances.

Madras.—With regard to this Presidency, our remarks need not be long. One has only to read the extracts from the Madras Manual of Administration, printed as Appendix R to Mr. Dutt's book, to see how

impossible it would be to arrive at a fair assessment of land to the Land Revenue under such a system of classification of soils, estimation of produce and consequent valuation of such produce as a guide to the rents to be fixed. As all our readers may not, however, have access to that book, it will be necessary to give the outlines of the system as laid down in the Manual referred to. It has been asserted that these rules are not adhered to in practice, but if such is the case, what safeguards are there against the method actually adopted in an unauthorized way being equally empirical and unfair? We may judge of the system by its results, and when the last Statistical Abstract for India, issued by authority, gives over six millions of acres of arable land as lying waste in the Presidency, we need hardly go further in assuming that there must be something very faulty in the system under which they are so. In the letter attached to the extract from the Manual it is shown, from the annual Settlement Reports issued by the Madras Government, that in the eleven years from 1879-80 to 1889-90 there were 840,713 defaulters in the payment of revenue—that the occupancy rights in land belonging to these were sold to the extent of 1,963,364 acres, in addition to personal property of the *sale* value, worth, no doubt, much more if the sales had not been forced, of Rupees 29,65,081. But worse has to come. Of the 1,963,364 acres sold, as much as 1,174,143 had to be bought in by Government for want of bidders at the sales, and only the balance of 779,142 acres was actually sold. Who can doubt that if the land had been fairly assessed, the 1,174,143 that were bought in would also have been sold? To come to the rules. In order to arrive at an idea of what the average produce of land per acre is, crop experiments are made to the number of 2,000 or 3,000 in a district. It is presumed these are only on the staple crops, for the work otherwise would be interminable. It is laid down that to assess a field it is necessary to know either, on the one hand, the quantity of its produce without reference to its area, or on the other hand, its area and the quantity of the produce of a given part of it, or of an equal portion of other fields of similar quantity and condition. The former method being interminable, the latter is of necessity, generally adopted. Each series of fields (of what the series is to consist does not appear to be specified) is divided into two or three classes. The class of a soil is determined by the quantity of "clay" it contains, meaning by "clay" "*that impalpable matter which is formed by the combination of minute particles of the primitive earths with organic matter in a state of decay.*" The three soil classes

are "clay," "loam" and "sand." Clay soils of each series are those containing more than 66 per cent. of "clay"; loamy soils are those with $\frac{1}{3}$ to $\frac{2}{3}$ "clay" and the rest "sand"; sandy soils are those with more than $\frac{2}{3}$ "sand." It is said that for the most part eye, finger and thumb are the classifier's only guides, and the nearest approach to a scientific method is where he is allowed in case of doubt to test for clay by simple methods which give its bulk or weight, but do not indicate its chemical composition. This method is that of solution in water. It is not stated whether scales or graduated glasses are supplied to the classifiers for this purpose, but without such the test is, of course, nugatory. But whether such is the case or not, it is absurd to suppose that any native classifier, with from twenty to fifty fields to go through in a morning, would ever be got to make a careful analysis of this description, letting alone the fact that the method is chemically wrong; for a large proportion of the fertilising or deteriorating ingredients affecting the quality of a soil would dissolve in water, and the process would thus be of no value whatever in classifying its fertility.

But again, the land is recorded as of one of five series or orders, viz.—(1) the Regar or black cotton; (2) the red ferruginous; (3) the arenaceous; (4) the alluvial and permanently improved, and (5) the calcareous. It may be one of three or five sorts of one of two or three classes of one of the five series or orders named. Passing over the fact that there is no such thing as soil permanently improved by manure, as under order 4 (here the rules contradict themselves, for they say, that in classification natural soils alone are looked to in the first instance, and manure is considered subsequently) it does not seem to be the case that the classes adopted are few, or that the classification is by any means as simple as the rules endeavour to make out. It is presumed that when once the general rate of assessment is determined on, the several rates at which fields are to be assessed fall on these automatically according to the orders, classes, &c., in which the fields have been placed by the classifiers in pursuance of some specified scale, though that scale is not given. This may, however, be assumed from a note in the course of the instructions that when a cultivator knows in what category his land has been placed he will also know what its assessment will be. Viewing the system as a whole, we feel disposed to endorse the remark in the memo. alluded to (Appendix R) that the mere enumeration of the complicated processes gone through is sufficient to convince any one, not under the influence

of the magic of figures, of the impracticable nature of the system of assessing the proper rents of individual fields. Mr. Dutt concludes his remarks on the Madras system by proposing that the proportion of produce assumed to be equivalent to one-fifth of the gross (and not half of the net) should in future be the general standard of assessment to the land revenue. Other remedies by which the condition of the people may be improved and they may be enabled to tide over the effects of occasional famines are also discussed *passim*.

Bombay. - After describing early revenue systems and settlements in this Presidency more or less correctly, the author has come to the conclusion that the recent enhancements of land revenue are not justifiable, and that there should be an equitable limitation to such enhancements. He acknowledges that the assessment made is not based on estimates of the produce of the fields, but describes them as dependent on a scientific but thoroughly unpractical appraisement of the intrinsic value of the land and an examination of the fiscal history of each Tálukáh. This description, as will be seen from Appendix R. quoted above, is by no means accurate. There is no scientific appraisement of the intrinsic value of the land: there is, in fact, no valuation, but the system of classification of soils is simply an estimate of the comparative intrinsic qualities of soil as seen by their texture, their admixture with various unfertile ingredients, such as sand and stone, visible to the eye, the actual depth before it reaches down to rock, impervious clay or other unfertile strata &c. It is easy to ascertain from actual inspection and the opinions of the cultivators themselves what are the visible ingredients of the most fertile soil to be found. This soil is classed as the best, or technically of full value, or sixteen annas in the rupee. The grade of soil next inferior to this in consequence of the presence in it of an extra amount of sand or gravel or other unfertile substance, is classed lower, say, at 15 or 14 annas or less, until other very unfertile soil is reached which may go down as low as two annas, the point just above that of pure sand or rock, which will produce nothing and is accordingly not brought into classification at all. There is here nothing in the shape of a scientific valuation, but the system is not unpractical, inasmuch as the soil is graded, it may be roughly, but by criteria visible to the untutored eye, from the highest to the lowest qualities, the classification being thus relative and not positive. The positive valuation in money for assessment purposes is a secondary matter, decided on entirely different data. An examination of statistical returns will show that at a certain

average rate of assessment, say, over a whole Táluka or large number of villages, land has come into or gone out of cultivation—that the collection of revenue over that area has been made with difficulty after resort to coercive processes, or with ease—that the cultivators have gone down in material comfort and general prosperity, as evidenced by dwindling flocks, by houses out of repair and other outward and visible signs, or have risen in wealth, as proved by the higher rates at which land is saleable, by an increase in the number of milch cattle, by the substitution of metal for earthenware domestic utensils, and in other ways. In the latter case we may be sure that the assessment on the land has not been too heavy, and in the former that it has, and we have firm ground to go upon in determining what the future rates should be. The current prices of agricultural produce should be taken into consideration, and the effect of improved communications carefully noted, especially where, as Mr. Dutt would make out, such prices have actually been lowered in consequence of their equalisation in different parts of the country through such improvements, as well as the possibility of the decay of old and the springing up of new markets. On such criteria as these, and others that will occur to every intelligent settlement officer, a fair maximum rate can be arrived at for the highest grade of soil, and the rates on those of lower relative fertility will follow according to the classification described above. These may be modified by other considerations. Land in a part of the country well served by railways is certainly more valuable than if it were situated where the only means of communication was by cross-country tracks. Where it lay close to a village site, where the crops could be easily watched and manure conveyed to them, it would be worth more to a cultivator than what lay in jungly or hilly outskirts. The greater certainty of the annual rainfall in certain tracts than in others would add to the value of land in the former and lower it in the latter, as would also the proximity of markets for the disposal of agricultural produce, through the smaller cost of its conveyance to market. Even the greater or less hereditary agricultural skill of the cultivators in some parts of the country would to a certain extent be a legitimate consideration in fixing the rates for a series of years. A Taluka might thus be very equitably thrown into groups or circles of villages, just as on the same principle of proximity to village site or water for cattle, the fields of a village might be lowered as they receded from the village or a tank or running stream. Assessment, to be fair, must be regulated by a number of such considerations and not merely

on the single one of prices beyond which Mr. Dutt's ideas do not seem to travel. When he says, moreover, that there are no equitable limitations to the enhancements which a Settlement Officer is empowered to make, he completely ignores that which he himself immediately proceeds to quote, viz., a limited increase of 33 per cent. in a Taluka or group of villages, of 66 per cent. in the case of a village, and of 100 in the case of an individual holding. This is made a peg on which to hang his proposal to allow an appeal to a judicial tribunal from the decision of the revenue authorities in the matter of assessments, which is now precluded by law. Now, the real reason of this prohibition is not jealousy of the Courts, but the fact that the fixing of assessments depends on many technical considerations which the latter are unable to understand from want of training and experience. If this want of technical knowledge could be remedied by its being made a rule that the Courts should in such cases have the assistance of a jury of experts, no objection would be made on the part of the revenue authorities, and an equitable compromise could be arrived at. We object to any proposal for a limitation of the assessment to the value of one-sixth or any proportion of the gross produce, for the simple reason that that value cannot be fairly ascertained by any human agency in the hundred and one varieties of produce grown in India; even if a fair estimate could be made, the circumstances of different parts of the country require different treatment for the same varieties.

Bengal.—Lord Cornwallis's Permanent Settlement in this province may have done all the good it is said to have done, politically as well as socially, but there can be no doubt, from so many laws having been required to be passed in subsequent years to set to rights the wrongs inflicted by it on the cultivators, that it has only accomplished its end through such untold suffering on the part of the latter as to prevent the experiment ever being tried again. If for no other reason, India as a whole is not ripe for such a settlement, because the country is in a state of transition, and one carried out on existing bases would in no great time become very unfair to some parts relatively to others, for in consequence of the extension of railways some markets will fall and others will rise; what is now comparatively thinly populated and poor may become the centre of a flourishing trade and a teeming population, and circumstances will so change as to amount to a revolution in the condition of the people. We place no reliance on tables of produce and rent such as those given at page 61 of Mr. Dutt's book: variations, such as from 11·2 in Dacca, as the proportion of rent

to produce, to 29·4 in Hughli, show what uncertain things such data are to go upon.

Mr. Dutt's fifth letter to Lord Curzon comprises his remarks on settlements in Northern India generally, in the North-Western Provinces, in Oudh, and in the Panjab. He urges that the principle on which Land Revenue is fixed in Northern India, viz., at half the rental, is fair and should be extended to the whole of India, and that settlements should be made for 30 years, to prevent frequent harassment of the people. Objection is taken to the large enhancements of revenue imposed at second settlements, and a table is given of such enhancements for 12 districts, in which they run from 21·5 in Lucknow, to 53·2 in Garhwal. Such tables, however, give no reliable data on which to form an opinion on the reasonableness or otherwise of the enhancements, for circumstances, such as too low a rental fixed at the previous settlement, might well justify them. We have no objection to the principle of half rental as revenue just noticed being adopted generally, provided it is adopted as the maximum limit, for there might be many instances in which it would be advisable for various reasons to adopt a lower limit. A great deal should be left to the common sense of the Settlement Officer under the supervision of the Government of the Province, and the worst consequences might follow his being bound down by a hard and fast rule. We are, on the other hand, entirely in accord with the proposal to limit to 6½ per cent., the imposition of cesses for local purposes. We certainly think it would be unfair for agriculturists alone to be taxed for the maintenance of schools, dispensaries, &c., to the exclusion of the non-agricultural classes, who would as a rule more directly benefit by such institutions. Another point in which we entirely concur with the author of the book is that there should be no compulsory water rates leviable in case of water for irrigation being provided out of State funds: in a country where water is as a rule an absolute necessity for successful agriculture, there need be no fear of people not availing themselves of it if the rates charged for it are reasonable and fairly adjusted.

In the article from the *Imperial and Asiatic Quarterly Review*, by Mr. Carstairs, mentioned at the head of this paper, we come on a very different method of dealing with famine in India to that of equitable assessment of land to the State revenue in order to enable the people to hold out against its worst effects. After dealing with the causes of famine, which the writer traces to the competition between money wages, as given by the State at relief works, and grain, designated by

him as the ordinary and almost exclusive currency of the agricultural classes, and strangely enough hardly touching the main cause, a failure of rain, he proposes to attack its causes, (1) by checking the increase of population, especially in insolvent areas, and (2) by preventing fluctuations in the supply of grain. With regard to the former, he lays it down that the State, having done its best to counteract the old natural checks of war, disease and famine, is, in the interests of solvent areas, bound to provide, if possible, some substitute for them, and suggests two, viz., education and repression. By education he means not merely keeping schools, but "that opening of the understanding which leads to civilisation," and points to two means which may very fittingly be used, viz., civil organisation and good roads. These we may pass over with brief notice, as they are already put in force by the State to the utmost of its means and ability. He has some plan of his own for providing roads, a plan which he admits has so far failed to win approval, and is therefore probably not of any great value: he does not enlighten us as to what it is. He, however, goes on to suggest another means for keeping down the population, viz., repression. It is said to be the right of the State, and a duty owing to solvent areas, or those that have not had to take aid from the State for the relief of famine, to impose on those that are insolvent the responsibility it has itself assumed for preserving life, and to enforce on the several communities a reasonable amount of prudence and forbearance. This is to impose on the inhabitants of the latter a special tax, in order to force on them in good years the memory of bad years and prevent them from increasing their numbers too fast. This tendency, encouraged by the Government relief policy, in the poor recklessly to increase their numbers in good times and trust to State relief when bad times come, should be harshly repressed: the State, having as far as possible, done away with nature's checks to over-population, war, disease and famine, is bound to apply a check of its own in the shape of this proposed tax. The idea *out-Malthuses* Malthus himself, for he went no further than to suggest moral checks, but Mr. Carstairs proposes a physical check: If the idea were reasonable, to carry it out in a country such as India, where the practice of early marriage is a religious obligation, is about the most chimerical that could have been thought of.

To prevent fluctuation in the prices of grain it is proposed to establish grain banks, which are to make advances and recover them with interest in grain instead of in cash. This is the old story of grain storage, the theory of which was demolished not long ago by Lord

G. Hamilton in the late debate on Sir W. Wedderburn's proposal to the same effect in the House of Commons, and the practice of which has demolished itself where it was formerly in vogue in India, as a consequence of the improvement in communication that now enables grain to be transported from one part of the country to others with ease. The historical precedent of Joseph in Egypt will, of course, be quoted in support of the proposal to store grain, but Joseph in those ancient days had no railways: if he had had them, he would probably have been wise enough to adopt very much of the modern method of proceeding of the Government of India. Of another measure suggested by the author of the article as a means of checking the fluctuation of grain prices, viz., by the enforcement of uniform weights and measures, we clearly approve. To root up old habits, however, is a difficult matter, that can only be brought about by slow degrees, and one that time and perseverance alone can accomplish.

In order to ascertain what measures are adopted in Northern India to ensure a proper classification of soils, we have studied the report on what was done in the District of Basti in the North-Western Provinces: this report now lies before us and is dated 1891. It is very full, and goes into minute details of the past history of the district and its physical features; it is plentifully supplemented by maps showing such particulars as the area of poppy, cane, wheat, *Bhadain* rice, *jarhan* rice, *rabi* and *kharif* crops generally, and double-cropped and irrigated lands, as compared with the total cultivation. It does not, however, show how such particulars are made use of in determining the general level of the rates of assessment or their special pitch with regard to certain tracts or villages, nor is there apparently any notice taken of the question of proximity to or distance from markets, one of the most essential points to be considered in framing an equitable scheme of assessment for a large tract of country. It thus contains no proper data on which an outsider can form a fair judgment as to the general scheme of assessment, and goes into details, the trouble and cost of elaborating which might equally as well have been spared, for it gives no reasons for the division of tracts into circles (ranging in number from one to five). The assessment, in short, appears to have depended on an estimate of the capabilities of villages made on a personal inspection or examination of them, a most dangerous ground to go upon, and one sure above all others to lead to inequality of rating, for outward appearances are very deceptive, as is palpably the case in Madras. What, then, are the proper principles on which a Land

Revenue Settlement in India should be carried out? We pass over without further notice one that is absolutely essential in all parts of the country, viz., that of an accurate measurement and plotting to scale on maps of all fields in such detail as may enable them to be traced on the ground. Where the settlement is *ryotwari*, that is, where the State deals directly with individual cultivators, each plot must be separately measured, as it has a separate assessment recorded against it; where it is by villages or portions of villages, such detail is not always requisite, as subtenants may be supposed to know and be able to maintain their own particular boundaries; but even here, when it is found necessary to have distinct records of rights, as in Northern India, to facilitate revenue administration, to provide facilities for sub-division of lands, and for other reasons, it would be found advantageous, to have a distinct record on the village maps of every separate proprietary holding. The process is expensive, but once properly done, the record serves for all time, especially where there are boundary marks put up to mark the several plots, and these are duly kept up, such boundary marks being put up by the people themselves or at their cost. The maps, prepared by photozincography, can always be printed over again. Here it may be convenient to say a few words with regard to records of rights. They are mostly necessary where settlements are made by villages with proprietors or quasi-proprietors, as in the case of Pattidari, imperfect Pattidari, Bhayachari and other tenures, and serve mostly to protect the rights of subtenants against infringement by superior holders or landlords, but there are cases, as in Bombay with the Narvaders and Bhagdars in the Kaira and Broach Collectorates, in which every field being measured, mapped and assessed as in directly managed (*Khalsi*) villages, and separate record of rights is found to be necessary, and disputes are settled by recourse to the Civil Courts. This is recognized as a sufficient protection to subtenants, and the enormous labour and cost of separate records of rights, with their liability to error, are avoided: the assessment each field would have to pay if its tenant paid his rent directly to the State being duly entered against it in the village books, the Courts have sufficient data in village custom or agreements between the parties on which to come to a proper division in case of dispute.

The requisite preliminary of accurate measurement having been carried out, a proper classification of soils is necessary in order that the burden of assessment of land to the Land Revenue of the State may be fairly adjusted. Adjustment here means an equitable distribution

according to the varying qualities or productive capabilities of different lands, and this is sufficient to show that it cannot be carried out by attempting to lay it on individual fields without reference to their lands: classification of soils must therefore be relative and not positive. The positive valuation for revenue purposes comes in in the assessment in grain or money. In consequence of the impossibility of ascertaining what quantity of grain, sugarcane, cotton, vegetables, etc., each field will yield, the assessment of individual fields not relatively to others must be a fruitful source of error and unequal assessment. From this it follows that the Bombay system of relative classification of soils for purposes of assessment is the fairest, and it is not, as shown above, the impractical system Mr. Dutt has assumed it to be. We have the weighty authority of the Commission who inquired into the causes of the Agricultural Riots in the Deccan for stating that no complaint was made by the people against the system of assessment in that part of the Bombay Presidency. The inequality of assessment in that of Madras which has led of late years to over 10,000 evictions from land every year (if families are reckoned, from 45,000 to 50,000 individuals) and to over 6,000,000 acres of arable land actually lying waste, would not have occurred if the relative values of land had been properly ascertained.

We now come to the question of the actual rent, or tax upon rent, or whatever it may be called, that should be placed on land. Theoretically, it would be the fairest plan to let this fluctuate, so that the state and its tenants should gain or suffer proportionately according to the vicissitudes of the seasons. This would afford relief to the latter in case of a partial failure of rain, but would be of no use in that of total failure, as in the present year in the Central Provinces and the Province of Gujarat. What requires to be done is to fix the assessment at such moderate money rates (we take it for granted that those who may have studied the subject would not advocate the levy of grain or produce rents), that a margin should be left to the tenant out of which he could in a good year lay by sufficient to enable him to tide over, at all events partially, the effects of scarcity in a bad one. A former Secretary of State for India once said to the writer of this article that it was a pity we did not put on rack-rents in Madras, in order to prevent money-lenders having a chance of coming in and seizing the surplus! As shown above, it would be of no use to lay down that assessment should not exceed the value of so much of the gross produce of the land, for it is impossible to ascertain what that value is, and it really fluctuates every year according to the law of

demand and supply. But let it be statistically ascertained that the people flourished at a certain general level of assessment: let this be lowered to allow for vicissitudes of seasons, so as to leave a margin in moderate years in the hands of the cultivators, and give land a marketable value.

In order fairly to distribute the burden, let such points as cannot be provided for in the classification of soils, such as proximity to markets and the greater certainty of rainfall, be taken into account in throwing the villages of a tract into classes or groups, to allow for greater or less expense of conveying produce to market, and the greater or less value of land according to assured rainfall. If a tract of country is from any cause in an unflourishing condition and it is desired to bring it up to that of its neighbours, let a special reduction of assessment be allowed; either permanent or for the term for which its continuance is guaranteed. Especially let any increase which may be brought about by a revision not take effect immediately but be postponed for a certain number of years until the people are in a condition to bear the extra taxation. In case of particular tracts of land lying waste for special reasons, let leases on favourable terms be granted in it so as to make it profitable to people to take them up, as in the instance of lands to be reclaimed from the sea or impregnated with deleterious salts. Let every practicable measure be taken, when possible, to prevent the occurrence of famine by the provision of irrigation works, tanks and wells, the first of these to include the erection of small dams or reservoirs to hold water, as well as such costly enterprises as the Ganges Canal and the irrigation of the delta of the Godávari. The construction of roads and railways to enable surplus produce from one part of the country to be conveyed to another, and to open all of it out to enterprises by which local industries would be fostered or revived, and to some extent relieve the pressure on agriculture, now virtually the sole employment for its teeming millions, should proceed unceasingly on the extensive and cheap scale that light railways and fair-weather roads would provide for its resources being quickly developed.

But after all is said and done, the failure of rain is a natural phenomenon which no human power can entirely prevent, though this may mitigate its consequences. Those in the enjoyment of land, entirely rent free, are in the present year in no better case than those holding land heavily assessed, and it is sheer nonsense to talk, as some of the native papers and unreasoning members of the Indian National

Congress now are talking, of a lowering of assessment and similar measures being *panaceas* against the recurrence of such calamities. The Government of the country are interested in doing their best, and such discussions as those in Mr. Dutt's book are of great value in directing their attention to the weak points in our administration, and the suggestions he makes are particularly valuable as coming from a native of the country, who has himself for many years been engaged in that administration. Let moderation be shown on both sides, and let not the members of the Congress imagine they are showing true patriotism by simply finding fault with what the British Government are doing, without suggesting what they consider proper remedies. The Government, they may depend upon it, are always willing to consider such suggestions if offered with the sole view of the good of the country, and to follow them out. It is for the good of the commonwealth and themselves that all things should be so ordered and settled, by a superior governance to that of men, as to lead to the greater benefit of both the rulers and the ruled. But let us have no more proposals such as those of Mr. Carstairs to fly in the face of Nature and to tax people extra who have been struck down by misfortune, so that they may remember in future that they have been so struck—and, as he says, be intelligent and prudent with a view to checking the number of mouths to be filled in famine time. This would be Utopia with a vengeance.

A. ROGERS.

THE NORTH-WEST PROVINCES TENANCY ACT.

IN reply to the address presented to Sir Antony Macdonnell by a deputation on behalf of the Vaishya Maha Sabha, on the 2nd of November, at Agra, His Honour was pleased to make certain remarks regarding the N.-W. P. Tenancy Bill, which has recently been passed into law, expressing his views as to the relations of the landlords of the commercial class and their tenants. Now that Sir Antony has laid down the reins of the Government of these Provinces, and left India, it would be scarcely fair to make any criticisms on what he said; but as the words fell from the lips of such a statesman and high dignitary, and are calculated to lead to misapprehension, and lest entire silence may be misconstrued, it seems desirable to state the real position of this class in connection with zamindari affairs.

His Honour remarked that "men amass money by honourable commerce, and invest their gains in landed property, expecting a sufficient interest upon their investment." Further on he said, "there is a charm and an attraction in the possession of landed estates."

These remarks imply that in His Honour's opinion our bankers prefer to invest money in the purchase of landed property to investing it in trade or banking business. But the case is the reverse of this.

Bankers, as a rule, always prefer to invest their capital in trade and commerce and banking business, and it is only when their debtors fail to pay off their debts, that, as a matter of absolute necessity, to recover their money, they purchase landed properties. That this is the case is obvious from the results of the sale proceedings that are held every month under the orders of the Civil Courts.

His Honour further remarked that "they claim to deal with their tenants on commercial principles, on the basis of free contract. That seems fair, yet it covers a great error. The error, gentlemen, consists in regarding a tenant as a commercial asset, in paying too little attention to the fact that he and his family must live on the same land, or perish, that he is made of flesh and blood, with feelings and passions

which are often explosive." This assertion seems to throw a discredit upon the Vaishya community in general, and it should be carefully considered how far it can be warranted by facts.

The admission that our commercial landlords treat their tenants on commercial principles, is, in my opinion, a great compliment to them. The fundamental principle of commerce is to have fair dealings with customers, and to keep them contented. A banker landlord knows very well that the punctual payment of rent, which is urgently desired on commercial principles, depends upon the fairness of its rate and upon the prosperity of his tenants. Very few, therefore, will be found among the Vaishya landlords, who are oppressive to their tenants when compared with the landlords of other classes. The British Government is itself a commercial government, and the consequence is that its dealings are more satisfactory towards its subjects than those of preceding governments. Why should the relations of commercial landlords and tenants prove otherwise than satisfactory ?

In support of the above, I would refer to the Reports of the Settlement of the districts of Muzaffarnagar and Saharanpur which are before me now.

On page 16, paragraph 50 of his report, Mr. Miller, the Settlement Officer of Muzaffarnagar, says:—"Owing to the subdivision of estates and the manner in which shares are held, it is difficult to obtain a correct account of the area and value of each large landlord's property. The following statement will serve, however, to give some idea of the extent of each and of the effect of the new assessments on the landlord:—

Serial number.	Name of estates (Revenue paying only.)	Percentage of increasing Govt. Revenue over the existing assessment.	Remarks.
1.	Nawab of Karnál and brothers ...	7'2	Mohommedans.
2.	Lala Nehál Chund of Chhapar ...	17'4	Vaishyas.
3.	Lala Nehál Chund and Kesho Dás of Muzaffarnagar	21'4	Do.
4.	Syaids of Jánsath	21'6	
5.	Bhandura (Court of Wards)	21'4	
6.	Jats of Molaheri—Chaudhri Ghási Ram and others	35'1	

In para. 52 he says that:—

"In justice to the larger landlords it must at once be said that none of them take higher rents than the smaller landlords do, or than cultivators themselves when they let or sublet their fields. The Karnál

family are absentees, living in the Punjab; most of their estates are held by occupancy tenants who complain, probably with justice, of the management of the agents. Moneylenders who have invested in land necessarily endeavour to make it yield a fair return on their outlay; but in this district they make quite as good landlords, in peaceful times, as any other class. They certainly do not, as a rule, take such high rents as the Jâts of Molaheri, who succeed, partly through their great influence over the Jâts, partly through their better knowledge of the value of land, in extracting, without, so far as I have ascertained, giving rise to any complaints of harshness, much higher rents than are paid to the other chief landlords."

The Settlement Officer of Saharanpur writes in para. 56 of his report that "the district has always been held chiefly by petty proprietors. The largest land-owing caste now is the mahajans, or bankers, who hold 250,917 acres, or about one-fourth of the whole area under assessment. Their estates are scattered all over the district." On reviewing the Settlement Report, it is stated in the Government resolution, dated 9th May, 1895, that "the general condition of the agriculturist, whether petty proprietor or tenant, is good, and strikes the eye of any officer fresh from the eastern districts."

It must be borne in mind that abstention from cruelty is the first religious principle of the Vaishya community. As a whole, the community is considered inoffensive and kind-hearted, and there is scarcely any cause for fear that such a class of landlords would treat their own tenants and dependants otherwise than with due consideration of their requirements.

The wealth and prosperity of the Vaishyas depend not upon landed property, but upon trade, commerce, and banking business, as well as upon economy and thrift in their modes of living. Seth Surj Mul, who spent several hundreds of thousands of rupees in building Dharmshālās at Hardwar and Lukhsar, and a hanging bridge at Rekhikesh, does not touch landed property, nor did the ancestors of Seth Lachhmi Chund of Muthra, when they built magnificent temples at Bindraban and Muttra, or Lala Bhara Mul of Nazihabad, who built princely buildings at Kankhal.

In critical times, such as of famine, it is the commercial landlords who are able to pay the Government demands and at the same time take care of themselves and of their tenants, while the other landlords have no alternative but to seek the help of the Government. If the Rajput and Pathan landlords are expected to be of some use to

Government in case of a struggle with Foreign Powers, the commercial landlords may well be expected to be equally useful by helping Government with supplies of food and other necessities. Therefore, it is neither wise nor politic for Government to set their face against this class, whose loyalty has always been above suspicion.

AN OLD N.-W. P. ZEMINDAR.

WILLIAM WILSON HUNTER.

(A REVIEW.)

THE first words in any intelligent notice of Mr. Skrine's life of the late Sir William Hunter must be words of cordial congratulation to the author on having acquitted himself admirably of a task of considerable difficulty and, as a perusal of the pages shows, of no little delicacy. One can easily imagine the feeling of relief with which Mr. Skrine saw the last lines of the book before him. At the outset he was confronted by what is an almost insuperable obstacle in the way of writing a life, the absence of close personal intimacy with his subject. His friendship with Sir William Hunter, as he says in the Introduction, was of twenty years' standing, but their spheres of duty lay far apart, and the friends met but seldom face to face. Letters are excellent material; much useful information can be derived from those who came in close contact with a person: but a biographer who has to rely only on these is at nearly the same disadvantage as the biologist who has to construct an extinct species out of scattered bones and crude sketches scrawled on cave-walls or metal scraps by some primitive artist. Mr. Skrine laboured under this difficulty; but the fact would not be apparent to those who read his finished work, had he not himself mentioned it in his Introduction. The best test of a good biography is, perhaps, in the mind of the reader who comes to its pages without prejudices and without prepossessions. When he closes the book, does he feel that he has made the acquaintance of a living, breathing personality, has moved with him and felt with him? If he does, the literary art of the biographer is proved, and the biography itself takes its place among the masterpieces of literature. It may be objected that this test takes no account of the truthfulness of the portrait. The answer is that no artist who is not absolutely faithful to his idea of his subject can achieve success. The test of art is infection; and the secret of infection is intense adherence to truth.

Mr. Skrine's book stands this test with unwavering fidelity. The reader finds himself, after reading it, under the spell not only of Hunter's ways of thought, but even of his mode of expression, until he shakes himself free of it with an effort or loses it by lapse of time and under the pressure of his environments. The question arises,

how did Mr. Skrine manage this piece not so much of literary construction as of literary creation in spite of his disadvantages? The answer again is to be found in the Introduction. Between Mr. Skrine and his subject, stood one who had eagerly absorbed and was able to reflect with absolute faithfulness the life that had to be rendered into words. Lady Hunter was the medium through which Mr. Skrine could conjure up to his own mind the spirit of his departed friend. From the day of their engagement, somewhere in June 1860, to the day of their last earthly separation in February 1900, Lady Hunter, it may be said with truth, had no existence apart from her husband. She comes into this book, as she came into Hunter's life, very early—he was barely twenty when the betrothal took place; and there is scarcely a page of it, as there was scarcely a moment of her husband's life, in which she is not present as its closest and most constant participator. That Lady Hunter's devotion to her husband was of the most absolute kind, is evident from a casual sentence in which he described a social incident in a letter to her. It had been resolved that their marriage should be postponed until the year of probation had passed; and Hunter came out to India alone. Among his intimates in India was a young army doctor who was engaged to be married to a lady who belonged to the Murrays' (Lady Hunter's) home circle. The lady arrived, and Hunter, of course, took great interest in her. The incident referred to occurred when she was waiting for the wedding-day, and it was in connection with it that he made the remark. "Fancy," he wrote to his betrothed, "fancy, little Hetty gave me a lecture last night. She and Leonard had once or twice spoken about my engagement rather openly. I had always managed to give what they said a turn of a different meaning, and once whispered to her that I did not wish her to speak of it in public. Thereupon she looked at me with great, wondering eyes, and afterwards told me that she would have been very angry with Leonard if he had kept *his* a secret. One can't explain these matters to gentle little souls like her, but I am sure that you are only too well pleased to know that I would not have it talked about if, by its being noised abroad, we should lose a single chance of getting on."

Hunter was a thorough man of the world, but he had a kindly feeling for his fellow-creatures. Throughout his letters two things are noticeable by their absence. There is not a single cynical expression in them all, nor is there anywhere a sign of enthusiastic admiration for anybody or anything. Hunter was never beside himself, either meanly in spite of his fellow-men, or nobly in whole-hearted adoration of any of them. His hopes, his ambition, his happiness rested in himself and the little home-circle of which he was the centre. He was too much absorbed in what he had set before himself to let love or hatred disturb the focus of his objective. He had a heart for struggling merit, and an open

hand of charity, as these pages amply show. But all that came incidentally and as adding a spice to the Hunterian happiness of success.

If anybody would think the worse of Hunter for so utterly eschewing the shibboleths of altruism, and declaring himself frankly as being ambitious of power and fame, he is at liberty to do so. Only let him remember that shibboleths do not make life ; that Hunter's lack of them did not check the current of his charity ; that ninety-five out of a hundred men love these very things notwithstanding all professions to the contrary ; and that, if truth is more beneficial than untruth, it would be better for the world if all men were as ingenuous, and candid as Sir William Hunter. True, the avowals of worldly ambition are chiefly made to his wife ; and no man can disguise himself from his wife, least of all one who, like Hunter, wished her to support and advance him in his march to his goal. But if the frequent references in this book to the jealousies and heart-burnings which seem to have beset his path all along and at every turn of his career mean anything, they mean that he made no mystery of his determination to "get on" from the rest of the world.

And he "got on." The stars in their courses fought for him. He had personal charm, a persuasive speech, and a faculty of accommodation which carried him, through all vicissitudes, on the crest of the wave. Lord Lawrence sanctioned and utilised his connection as leader-writer with the press. The Earl of Mayo gave him his great chance in the compilation of the Imperial Gazetteer and made him Director-General of Statistics. Although he was opposed to the Vernacular Press Act, he helped to vindicate many parts of Lord Lytton's policy in the press in England and in India. Mr. Skrine quotes from Hunter's diary "some notes for a letter to Lord Lytton on the recent Press Act." We are not told whether the letter was actually sent, and what the response was. He was appointed Member of the Supreme Legislative Council by Lord Ripon, for whom he seems to have felt a sincere admiration though, when he failed to get the Foreign Secretaryship, he wrote, apparently in his diary : "Lord Ripon has done nothing for me and intends to do nothing about the Foreign Secretaryship, as he wishes to leave the selection to Lord Dufferin. So he will put Durand in to officiate again. What a pity it is that, with all Lord Ripon's goodness of intention and kindness of heart, he has neither firmness to carry a measure nor courage to recommend a friend." Lord Dufferin was his friend, though Hunter's first reference is anything but friendly to the new Viceroy. He succeeded in gaining the esteem of those whose esteem counted for something, and he retained it to the end. Martyrdom was not in his line, and he would probably have called it another name for folly.

It would be very far from truth, however, to conclude from the series of successes which Sir William Hunter managed to make of his Indian career that his only achievement in life was to attain fame and advancement for himself. It was his singular good fortune to be able, in a measure given to but few, to do much public service without sacrificing his own chances. It has, indeed, been said that he was not nominated to the India Council because of his views favourable to the Congress movement in this country. The statement does not rest on any authority and, besides, Hunter was never in any way officially or formally connected with the movement. But there could be no doubt of the fact that it was his writings in the English Press that first brought this movement to the notice of the British public. Apart from the Congress, Hunter's tendency in the main was for liberalism and confidence in the people. Mr. Skrine quotes a sentence from a letter from Hunter to a Parsi friend, written in 1887. "Our rule can be stable," he wrote, "only if it rests upon the goodwill and is supported by the co-operation of the people." It may be safely said that Hunter took every opportunity that offered of making British rule popular and better understood of the people. Reference has already been made to his dislike of the Vernacular Press Act. His influence as President of the Education Commission was exerted to the same end, though it must in fairness be remembered that, writing to one of his colleagues just before the Report was issued, he said: "The Commission's Report, as it will issue, must be a dull one, for my part has been so re-arranged that it has ceased to be mine." He sympathised with movements for social reform in this country, but even here he clearly indicated the limits of his approval. Literary and artistic indigence appealed strongly to him, and for its relief he gave freely.

What was "the secret" of his success? There is only one secret for all success in the world, and that was also Hunter's. A clear idea of the end to be gained, a strong determination to gain it, and a steady and unswerving pursuit of it, when combined with average intelligence and industry, will generally ensure a fair measure of success. Sir William Hunter had all these qualities in an almost exaggerated form. He had great natural intelligence, vast powers of observation, and extraordinary industry. He was an unwearied worker, and it is superfluous to say he had the literary instinct in no small degree. His influence with Government arose and was maintained by his connection with the Press. Mr. Skrine has dealt freely with Hunter's relations with the Press, and at the present day they would be regarded as utterly irregular. But Lord Lawrence, as noted above, gave his sanction to them, and subsequent Viceroys were not unaware of them.

At a comparatively early period of his Indian career, we find him stipulating for three articles a week with the editor of the

Englishman, and three articles a week is no small matter even to a man of Hunter's information and literary facility. He was connected with various newspapers in England, and during his visit to that country in 1878 there is the following entry in his diary: "The Viceroy of India (Lord Lytton) has employed me this autumn in securing a fair statement of his foreign policy and his famine operations in the English Press. To this end his Private Secretary sends me telegrams from India, sometimes to the extent of £40 or £50 per week, giving the latest facts, so that I am absolutely master of the situation at home. These I communicate by telegraph to certain leading newspapers, either as special cables from the famine districts or in the shape of editorial notices. These functions call for much correspondence of a very delicate and confidential character, which I can entrust to no one." His connection with the *Times*, as the author of the weekly articles on Indian Affairs, is well known in this country.

Of the literary work of Hunter, Mr. Skrine's estimate is probably correct. "He does not belong to the little knot of solitary teachers," says he, "whose genius divines the occult workings of Nature's laws and the trend of human institutions. . . Again, the great bulk of his work belongs to the 'literature of knowledge,' and such books are doomed to be superseded sooner or later by others, built on their foundations and embodying the results of later research." Mr. Skrine, however, exempts from this criticism the "Annals of Rural Bengal," the lives of Mayo and Dalhousie, "The Old Missionary," "The Thackerays in India," and the two volumes of the "History of British India." The "History of British India" was, indeed, grandly conceived, and had Hunter lived to carry out the plan, it would have without doubt superseded all other text-books on the subject. "The Old Missionary" marks a hidden vein in Hunter's spiritual and moral constitution. It is a perfect idyll, conceived in the purest pathos, for a parallel to which we have to go back to George Eliot's *Silas Marner*. Had Hunter not been borne into the vortex of the Indian administration, had he been free to work the vein disclosed in this precious little masterpiece, he might have lived and died without the outward success which was as the breath of his nostrils. But he might have written himself indelibly among the greatest of the world's teachers, those whose names posterity will not willingly let die.

As one closes this volume which so faithfully depicts the struggles and successes of a remarkably capable and gifted man, one cannot help feeling how little they have had to do with the real influence which Hunter exerted on his contemporaries. He played a great part, and he had a great stage to play it on. But it is permissible to doubt whether, had he ever thought of it, Hunter himself would have claimed that the influence of his ardent and strenuous life in the world's arena was superior in quality or extent to that of the gentle

"Old Missionary" who fearlessly trod the path of the ideal. We rise from a perusal of these pages with the impression of having been face to face with an extremely able man to whom fortune had been peculiarly favourable ; a kind man to those who did not cross his path ; a generous man, who liked to feel he was generous ; a voluminous writer, who wrote one noble prose-poem ; but neither a spotless saint nor a soaring genius whom no shrine can hold, such as some of his admirers would make him out to be.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

**The Power and
Beauty of
Beggary.**

Could we but realise the attitude of the ancient Indian mind towards the beggar, we moderns might yet comprehend the peculiar cast of that mind. In the old days, the word beggar never conveyed a sense of contempt. Even where it failed to imply genuine reverence, it indicated some other deep emotion of the man using the word. The man to whom it was addressed certainly never resented it as an insult. *Bhikshu* or *Bhikhu*—what a beautiful word it is! *Sadhu*—how suggestive of peace achieved and reverence inspired! *Fakir*—how powerful in peace or war, the maker of princes and of empires! In English, “you beggar” is perhaps the sharpest insult that could be offered to a gentleman. In our Indian vernaculars, there was no way even of addressing a beggar as “you beggar.” The term does not lend itself to such a use. How can it, when the modern Western idea, that it is a shame to beg, was shared neither by the giver nor the taker of alms? When the economic notion, that it is a sin to beg, found no place in the understanding of the people? When it cannot, even now, be looked upon as an offence in the country? In India, it was neither a shame nor a sin, nor an offence to beg. Was it then a calling? No, if by calling is meant anything that is looked upon as being preferred for the profit it brings. Was it, then, a system to maintain idlers and encourage laziness? That would be a calumny, although idlers have thriven ideally well on the Eastern conception of beggary. Was it stolid stupidity? By no means, since it was all the mischief of the intellect, if you would have it so. The Hindu notion of beggary, for instance, as so many other vital Hindu notions, customs and institutions, seems to have two elements wrought into it, the Aryan and the Dravidian.

Many of our foreign readers may not be aware that among the Brahamans, when a boy is initiated into the rites that constitute the sanctities of Brahamanhood, through the performance of the ceremony which, in true Vedic grandeur, stands alone among all the multitudinous rites and rituals of to-day, in form simple and solemn, in essence constituting the basic principles of all spirituality—during this *Upanayana* ceremony, many may not be aware, that the initiated boy has to *beg*—and beg as all that was so noble in ancient India would have it—beg of *women*. By the way, where is the departed glory of India, as disclosed by such sanctities from which all but the shell has gone? Where is that pre-eminent position of Indian womanhood, of which we now get only the faintest glimpse of a glimpse, the far-off indistinct echo of an echo, the almost vanishing shadow of a shadow? Alas! alas! bring us back the ancient woman of India, and *she* will bring us the lost spirituality, the glory that has gone, the national prosperity that is no more, even the political emancipation that we must ever seek in vain without *her*. “Creation’s crown,” she was also the crystal fount from which flowed the martial valour, the intellectual virility, the stamina in thought and action, the freedom in aspiration and achievement, that characterised the race. But that is a subject by itself; let us come back to the fallen condition of to-day and look at this question of beggary. The boy had to beg, and beg of women, in the select formula—“*Bhavati, Bhiksham Dehi,*” which, rendered freely into English, means, “Lady, give alms.” And from that day onward in the pristine Vedic age, he had to beg his food for years, all the years of study—after which he married and entered on his career as householder, *grihastha*. During the period of study, however, he was bound to support himself by begging, and every householder was bound to support the beggar student. In fact, when the latter was initiated into Brahamanism, he was initiated into beggary as well. That initiation into beggary constituted the system of scholarship, of boarding and lodging, of hostels and homes, as known to ancient India. It contains the solution of the European’s standing perplexity as regards the Brahaman’s pre-eminence in intellect. To this day, the sonorous *Bhavati, Bhiksham Dehi*, may be heard anywhere in India from the lips of a Brahaman boy begging for cooked food. “*Bhavati, Bhiksham Dehi*”—Lady, give alms—from the lips of a

learner—one who has dedicated his young years to learning—how could it taint begging? Who was not interested in handing over the torch of learning from hand to hand, and transmitting the holy hymns through successive lips? And thus beggary, shorn of all its base associations, came to be the medium for so holy a purpose, came to be something holy in itself—looked upon in the light of an act of self-sacrifice. This is how, in the estimation of Indo-Aryans, begging has come to receive such a mighty impetus, such a unique motive power that could last for ages, and a *status* almost incredible in modern times. This is also how begging has become such an easy thing for the Brahman, and how he has almost come to glory in his being a beggar—in his owning that beggary is in his blood.

Such a national attitude of the mind could not but lead to some striking national characteristics—good and bad. We have, for instance, as a consequence of this attitude, the wonderful capacity of the Brahman to minimise wants, to undergo privations, to submit to distress, in fact, to be independent of material circumstances and yet achieve eminence in a manner that calls forth the admiration even of his enemies. For such a one the wheels of fortune have little surprise in them; everything that is not vitally necessary to keep body and soul together is a luxury that can be dispensed with, at any moment. From the pleasures of opulence to the privations of poverty, from the powers of ministership to the pains of menial service, from regal magnificence to humble mendicancy, the change for him is not only natural but quite easy to bear. And not alone this. He may earn thousands, and be the most powerful among the people, but that won't make it incompatible with his position to deny himself every little convenience at home in order to keep in comfort, educate and bring up a large circle of relatives and dependents. To put it briefly, the most memorable service that beggary has done to the Brahmanical cause is the effective training it has provided in this instance for the *effacement of self*.

On the other hand, it cannot be denied that the whole conception of beggary has been woefully abused in practice. But how many ideas are there, that can escape or have escaped what seems to be almost a natural and inevitable attendant in the realisation of ideas—the liability to be abused? The worst that can be said against

this does not lie, therefore, in the charge that the conception has been abused ; but it lies in some positive evils that have resulted from it. It has unfitted the race for sustained exertion, and has endued it with a marvellous aptitude to become easily content. It has acted powerfully in keeping the standard of life low, and has starved all enterprise in the nation. This absence of enterprise and exertion for a long period has been followed by the direst and most deplorable consequence that has to be mentioned : the want, in the race, of faith in itself, of faith in high aspirations and daring acts, of faith even in the betterment of the future. If this should be so, it may be asked, how is it that in spite of these initial defects the Brahman continues to hold his place ? The answer is simple : he does so, because of his capacity to do well what he is trusted to do. He comes up to the standard of efficiency when it devolves upon him as a matter of duty. But that has nothing to do with the power to take the initiative, to aim at results beyond himself and his generation. Thus has the Brahman come to possess two marked characteristics, more than most other classes, *self-denial* and *self-diffidence*—both of them due largely to his sanctified initiation into beggary.

• But what about the Dravidian element ? Greatly influenced by the Jains, the Dravidians and, perhaps, the northern Buddhists developed to a remarkable extent the emotional pessimism so common in Dravidian literature, and exerted a powerful influence over the Aryan writers, excelling them often in the manner in which they promulgated that pessimism. What the Dravidian contributed to the philosophic pessimism of Buddhists and Jains was the emotionalisation of that pessimism. In a measure, they did what Rousseau did for *jus naturale*, and exercised an equally powerful influence, although not half so disastrous in the immediate future. The consequence was an abandonment of the grosser concerns of life, and a course of conduct in keeping with that emotionalised pessimism—which could not but result in raising beggary to the height of attainable self-abnegation. They freely begged, from place to place ; and while they begged, they promulgated in the most dangerously captivating manner what in the net result came to be the philosophy and the ethics of begging. They preached, and they followed their precept ; the vehicle they

chose for these ideas was song in the most touching of tunes. The Aryan gave begging a status which it never could have had otherwise; the Dravidian popularised it with a success quite marvellous—with the two-fold result that among communities that have passed under their combined influence every form of violent crime has been phenomenally low, compared with the absence of deterrent checks; and secondly, the universal favour that beggary has found in India, standing next only to piety and the gods that are pleased by it.

**Wanted—A
band of gentle-
man beggars.**

Such is the genesis of beggary in the East. It claims a high and a noble ancestry—a past to be truly proud of. May not its future be made equally attractive and beneficent? May we not appeal for a band of gentleman and lady beggars in India, ready to co-operate in all well-doing for the common weal? There are the public hospitals, for example, the prisons, the schools, the management of which would be the better for such unpaid co-operation from outside. There are the immense charity funds of the country, which would be the better used for such co-operation. There are the widows, the orphans, the little ones with parents that are worse than dead to them. What incalculable good could be done for these if we had an organisation of charity—a band of ladies and gentlemen begging for them, pleading for them and serving them? Christian Europe has borrowed our ideal; she has even improved upon it in practice. Such work as we are here suggesting is done not only by devoted Catholic priests, but also by high-souled ministers and lay members of the Church of England and others. Their devotion is widely availed of by alien nations; in India it puts to shame the apathy of the original inheritors of the gift of charity.

There is another reason why we want disinterested beggars of the right type. A few at least of the youth of the nation should be ready to take the place of the old and the weary in the army of voluntary workers. In an age of strife and struggle such reserve of strength is essential. And where are we to find it so well as in the youth of the nation? The race is to the young, the eager, the sanguine. With all their faults of inexperience, it is the young that win for the world what it calls the battle of life. We want

the young with us and around us, so that at any moment we may step aside in their favour, for the quicker action, for the larger good. *East & West* sends out this hearty invitation to the youth of both hemispheres—to the young in years and the young in heart—to come forward to its aid. There is plenty of work to do in the interests of both, and none could do this work better than gentleman beggars, the Brahmins of international progress, with all the virtues and none of the shortcomings of the modern Indian Brahmin.

CURRENT EVENTS.

LORD CURZON has changed the Map of India. On the 9th of November, the districts of Peshawar, Kohat and Hazara, the Bannu and Marwat tahsils of the district of Bannu, and the Dera Ismail Khan and Kulachi tahsils of the district of Dera Ismail Khan, formerly included in the Panjab, were formed into a new province, the North-West Frontier Province, and constituted a Chief Commissionership, under the Honourable Colonel Deane. To break spirited mountaineers to the harness of orderly civilisation, requires methods of government, which, to those who are accustomed to the reign of law, might seem obnoxious to caprice and corruption; but personal rule must pave the way for the complicated machinery of a more scientific government. Lord Curzon may possibly have all the faith of a Kipling in the East being East, and the West being West, and he may have constitutional predilections for underlining the personal element in the governments of Eastern countries. But it seems premature to credit him, as he has been credited, with a design to extend non-bureaucratic rule where it is not needed.



Lord Curzon's avowal at Mandalay, that he has made the frontiers of the Empire his peculiar study, and that to him "no spectacle is more absorbing than that of oriental peoples passing by steady progress from backwardness to civilisation, without at the same time forfeiting the religious creeds, traditions or national characteristics of their race," sums up at once the object of his tour through the outlying parts of the Indian Empire, and the gist of his eloquent addresses to the native races among whom he has been moving, reminding them that the *Sirkar* is "not a dim force, but a concrete authority." There was a time when the East India Company's officials expected that a gradual imitation of European ways would tend to modify all that was objectionable in eastern customs. Lord William Bentinck expressed a hope that when the rite of *sati* was prohibited, other harmful customs would likewise pass away, and "thus emancipated from these chains and shackles upon their minds and actions, the Hindus might no longer continue, as they

had done, the slaves of every foreign conqueror, but that they might assume their first places among the great families of mankind." After the great Mutiny came a period of indifference as to whether the East imitated the West or not. The dominant note of the latest style of advice, which Lord Curzon repeated at Mandalay, is "Do not imitate." Curiously enough, in India, the Hindu has been moving in an opposite direction. "We will not imitate," was his first attitude. "We are glad you do not care whether we imitate or not," was the next stage in the evolution. "Why should we not imitate?" is his latest query. Mimicry is Nature's pastime, and she is ever, in search of a compliment. Reverence will not always remain too reverent. The East will retain what *she* prizes, and will borrow what *she* covets.



By the retirement of Sir Antony MacDonnell, India has lost the services of one of the most successful administrators of our time. Bengal, Burma, the Central Provinces and the North-West Provinces are alike singing the praises of one who wherever he went, electrified the administration with his downright earnestness. "The true secret of success in Indian administration," explained Sir Antony himself recently, "is the resolve to look at all important questions from the people's point of view." Apart from the natural softness of a sympathetic heart, an official career which, in Orissa, was cradled in a famine, and which has since had to save the perishing millions in two other great famines—in Behar and the North-West Provinces—could not but be alive to the existence of a people's, which is not always the official, point of view. Sir Antony was practically the author of the Bengal Tenancy Act and the recent North-West Provinces Tenancy Act, and in Northern India he might well be called "tenants' MacDonnell." His elevation of Hindi to a footing of equality with Urdu, though at the time it stirred up a feeling of alarm among the Muhammadans, will no doubt be regarded by posterity in a different light, and it will be a permanent mark of his desire to adapt administrative traditions to popular convenience.



Among the many lessons which India of the future will undoubtedly learn from the West, one of the most useful will probably be the establishment of co-operative credit societies in villages, for the encouragement of thrift and the alleviation of agricultural indebtedness. Education and character are the pre-requisites of a successful working of such institutions, but how much of either will be available in the rural parts, is at present only a matter of conjecture. The Committee appointed by Lord Curzon, under the presidency of Sir Edward Law, to report on the establishment of

Agricultural Banks, express a similar opinion; but they indicate in great detail the lines which offer the most reasonable hopes of success, and recommend that the experiment should be given every encouragement and a prolonged trial. In India, legislation has sometimes to be undertaken on the principle of making a road away from the customary haunts of men, and waiting for travellers, and not laying it because travellers want it there. Committees of official experts provide beautiful mechanisms, but it is the enterprise of the people that will have to breathe the breath of life into them.



Once the most adored, Li-Hung-Chang was latterly the most abused of the famous men of the East. Tall enough to catch the rays of western civilisation just on the crown of his head, he was every inch a Chinaman. Could he be otherwise, surrounded as he was by the enormous mass of conservatism, the upheaval of which was recently productive of such deplorable consequences? There are countries, of which India is itself an example, where it is not easy to define the word patriotism. Whether Li's partiality to Russia was inconsistent with real patriotism, the future alone can show. On the 7th of last month, the spirit of the great representative of Chinese diplomacy was conveyed to its future abode on a green chair, escorted by eight horsemen, all made of paper, and burnt outside the sick-room, as soon as the spirit was released from its earthly bonds.



That President Roosevelt is a man who, to use his own words, is actuated by "a resolute purpose to strive after the light as it is given him to see the light," is abundantly clear from two of his acts, which have obtained currency all the world over—his dining with Mr. Booker Washington, the negro philanthropist, and his congratulations on the defeat of the Tammany candidate for the mayoralty of New York. The light given to Roosevelt is by no means diffused over the whole world. A respectable English journal advises that "the white and the black men should form themselves avowedly, as they do now unavowedly, into two castes, like the Hindus and the Musalmans of India, with no intercourse except on the common business of life. The two should neither quarrel nor embrace, never intermarry, never eat together, or play together, or worship together, or, if that is found necessary, travel together on the same car." One wonders whether they should worship at all. In America, "black" is sometimes descriptive of the descent, and not the colour; and what is called black is sometimes very white indeed. Anyhow, the Hindus and the Musalmans are neither whiter nor blacker than each other, and one

would have liked to see elsewhere than in an English journal of repute, a commendation of the cleavage between the two great divisions of the Indian population.



It has formally been proclaimed that King Edward VII.'s sovereign titles are to be "King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and all the British Dominions beyond the Seas, Defender of the Faith, Emperor of India." Would it not have been more consistent with truth and with the greatness of expanded England, if "Defender of *the* Faith"—which His Majesty is not—had been transformed into "Protector of all the Faiths"—which His Majesty is?



It was a significant fact, on which Lord Salisbury dwelt at the Lord Mayor's banquet, that no European Power had taken advantage of England's entanglement in South Africa, as they would have fifty years ago. What is the change that has come over Europe during the last half a century? Have human nature and political morality improved? Perhaps, to some extent; but the South African war itself suggests another answer: science has made war a more protracted and costly game than it was fifty years ago. To make a virtue of necessity is often regarded as hypocrisy. But they may be right who propound that virtue is a product of social necessity. There is perhaps some truth in the theory that the abolition of slavery would have been more difficult of achievement than it proved to be, if machinery had not competed with human labour. Science will have done a great service to mankind, if it renders war so hazardous that no wise nation will indulge in it.

EAST & WEST.

VOL. I.

JULY, 1902.

No. 9.

MR. RAMJI BIN ROWJI'S 'PETITION.'

A COMMENT AND A COROLLARY.

TO one whose business it has been to study Indian Law simply as so much printed matter, the contrast is most striking between the admirable workmanship, from an English jurist's point of view, of the principal Anglo-Indian Codes, and the damning faintness of the praise accorded to them by district officers and others who observe their practical operation in rural India. "Your codes are beautiful and scientific, but they are too good for the people, who don't understand them and detest them"; such has been for the last twenty years the constantly repeated complaint. What does it mean? When the critic descends to particulars, it is usually the Civil Procedure Code that is specified. Why? What is the matter with this Code, so carefully framed and so frequently revised? Little or nothing that is perceptible to the naked eye of the English reader. Take each provision separately, and its reasonableness will generally be self-evident. Glance over the Table of Contents, and you will probably admit that the arrangement is, with few exceptions, luminous and convenient. No one seriously denies that honest litigants must have a better chance of fair-play under a fixed procedure than if every judge is left to his own devices for arriving at the truth and for giving effect to his decisions. The questions determined by the Code are nearly all such as must, from time to time, present themselves in the course of practice of any tribunal, East or West, and it cannot fail to be a saving of time and trouble to have such questions determined beforehand. What, then, we must again ask, is the matter with the Code? Why is it said to be unpopular?

Mr. Ramji *bin* Rowji supplies what I take to be the true answer, in the January number of *East & West*. It is a two-fold one, pointing, firstly, to the lack of proper promulgation, and secondly, to the fiscal accessories of the enactment in question.

The first defect is not peculiar to the Civil Procedure Code, and is indeed rather less important for adjective than for substantive law. Mr. Ramji has probably good reason for his suspicion that the vernacular translations of Indian Acts would be unintelligible to the masses, even apart from the fact that less than 2 per cent. of the population are able to read. Speaking generally, there is evidently too much of what Bentham used to call dog-law; if you want to teach your dog to abstain from doing something, you wait till he does it and then beat him. But this grievance is, on our critic's own showing, more serious in respect of new penal or fiscal regulations, or new exceptions to the general law of contract, such as the recent Punjab Alienation Act, than in respect of the Civil Procedure Code which is intended primarily for the guidance of officials engaged in administering the law. The ordinary layman has no concern with it until actually in sight of a lawsuit, and then he ought to find, though as a matter of fact he does not find, officials ready to give him all necessary assistance. If I cannot read, or fail to understand a railway company's time tables, I can obtain, without fee, at the railway station itself, all necessary information about the trains that are to convey me to my particular destination. In like manner, if I enter a Civil Court with no previous knowledge of its procedure, knowing only that I have suffered what I imagine to be a wrong and want redress, I ought to be met, as a matter of course, by some official with sufficient leisure, brains and civility, to explain to me what I ought to claim and in what form, supposing my story to be true, what sort of evidence I must be able to produce, how I am to get my case set down for hearing, &c. But, in suggesting that help of this kind should be provided without fee, I am approaching the second branch of Mr. Ramji's explanation, and passing from the grievance of incognoscible law to that of the cost of justice.

The two complaints are combined in the following passage:—

That Code, my Lord, is to the villager like a burning fire fed by our other fires—the Court Fees Act, the Stamp Act, the Registration

Act, and the Limitation Act. I ask you again to place yourself in the position of a poor ploughman and to say whether it is fair to expect him to know all these laws as to the meaning of which even full Benches of the High Court differ—laws which the Government itself cannot understand without the help of its law officers—*laws which involve the payment of innumerable fees at every turn—laws which make the Courts inaccessible except to those who can pay, and which enable the man with a long purse to spin out litigation to an inordinate length and defy the humble poor*—this last alone a problem, by the way, which your Legal Member confesses he cannot solve.

The writer here goes nearer to the root of the matter than he seems himself to be aware of. Without the four subsidiary fires (or without three of them at all events, for I am not sure that the objections of Mr. Rogers and others to the Limitation Act are unanswerable), and with proper directions for its use by the initiated, the principal Code would be what a well-managed fire ought to be—a good servant instead of a bad master.

It is the system of charging a price for justice—Justinian's fatal legacy to the Western nations—which goes far towards neutralising the otherwise unquestionable superiority of regular over haphazard procedure. When I speak of selling justice, I do not, of course, mean individual bribe-taking, which I imagine to be almost as rare, so far as the judge himself is concerned, in modern India as in England. I mean the open and regular sale, on behalf of the State itself, of the right of audience and of the use of the State machinery for compelling attendances and enforcing judgments. I mean, in other words, the system of Court fees; the system according to which the subject who has already paid taxes to secure protection against wrong is called upon to pay over again when he actually requires the service for which he paid in advance. It is true that in theory of law the successful litigant will ultimately recover this and all other expenses from his adversary, but in practice he is certain not to recover the whole, and very uncertain about recovering anything; in many cases the poor man's chance of success is barred once for all by the initial demand which he is unable to meet, and his richer or more speculative adversary triumphs, right or wrong, without a contest.

And while the system inflicts wholly undeserved loss on the litigant, or would-be litigant, who is in the right, it is also apt to punish very much in excess of his deserts the one who has put himself in the wrong, it may be through inevitable ignorance of law

caused by the Government's own neglect. He, too, has paid his quota of taxes beforehand in order that justice might be done, whether for or against him, whenever the occasion should arise ; and that payment ought to secure him against ordinary costs, though not against any extra expense due to contumacy or chicanery on his part.

The climax of absurdity is reached in that provision of the Court Fees Act, to which Mr. Ramji has very properly called attention, that a man must pay a fee of eight annas before he is admitted to prove that he is a pauper ! Eight annas are, according to Mr. Digby, sixteen times the average daily income per head of 230 out of the 231 million inhabitants of British India. A pauper is defined in the Civil Procedure Code (omitting a clause which does not here concern us) as "one who is not possessed of sufficient means to enable him to pay the fee prescribed by law for the plaint in the suit." The lowest fee prescribed is six annas, where the claim does not exceed five rupees. If, therefore, a poor man happens to have a dispute with his neighbour about a matter of five rupees (which may mean to him nearly half a year's subsistence) and desires the assistance of that Government which requires him to abstain from self-redress in reliance on its protection, he has to choose between paying six annas to begin with for the privilege of being allowed to tell his story, with an indefinite prospect of other exactions to follow, and paying eight annas in order to prove that he is unable to pay six ! Of course, what he is really intended to understand by this cruel mockery is that the Civil Courts are not intended for the likes of him, except when it is a question of entering judgment against them in their absence as defendants in undefended suits. The statistics show that the most numerous class of suits is for sums between 10 and 50 rupees, while the next in frequency, *longo intervallo*, are suits for ten rupees or less ; but they also show that nearly two-thirds of the whole number of suits are disposed of either without trial or without contest, and in this number must in all probability be included the great majority of petty suits. It is impossible to say what proportion of these undefended suits might have been defended had the contest been on equal terms, or, on the other hand, how many just claims would have swelled the total of successful suits but for the poverty of the would-be plaintiffs.

In the face of such results as these from Western judicial methods, it was only natural to sigh for the ancient Oriental simplicity. There was no need, however, to go back to Akbar and Asoka, when the autobiography of the late Amir of Afghanistan would have supplied an equally apt illustration. This is how that masterful ruler describes the sort of thing that he found to be expected of him shortly after his accession (vol. i., p. 225) :—

The system of administering justice was such that the most humble were able to bring their claims before the sovereign by the simple process of getting hold of the sovereign's beard and turban, which meant to throw one's complaints on the shame of his beard, to which he was bound to listen. One day I was going to the Hummum (Turkish bath), when a man and his wife, running fast, rushed into the bathroom after me, and, the husband having got hold of my beard from the front, the wife was pulling me at the same time from behind. It was very painful, as he was pulling my beard rather hard. As there was no guard or sentry near to deliver me from their hands, I begged them to leave my beard alone, saying that I would listen without my beard being pulled, but all in vain. I was rather sorry that I had not adopted the fashion of the Europeans, whose faces are clean shaven.

Though he secured reasonable privacy for the future by placing a guard at the door of the Hummum, yet at a much later period one of his English visitors noticed that he stopped at once in his morning ride when an old woman held out a petition, listened to her patiently and talked to her about her case for about an hour, and left her apparently quite satisfied.

Mr. Ramji does not, I am sure, expect to persuade us that the way of salvation lies in the Viceroy or the High Court judges literally following these examples. Abdurrahman went on to the end of his reign increasing the number of regular civil courts as fast as his means would permit ; and if Akbar and Asoka were really more successful than the British Government in diffusing a sense of security among the humbler classes through their vast dominions, we may be sure that the result was attained rather by organising ability than by readiness to deal personally with petty cases taken at haphazard. The ideal to be aimed at is, not that the supreme ruler in person, but that somebody representing him should be always and everywhere accessible, without cost, to the humblest petitioner for justice, competent to put him in the way of obtaining in due course a hearing as patient, and a decision as soundly based on approved principles, as if the disputants had been millionaires.

Mr. Ramji pins his faith on reviving the village panchayats, and I agree that even these would be preferable to the refined justice of the codes placed practically out of reach of the masses. As the late Amir Abdurrahman remarks in the 'Life' above referred to, a piece of stone or a stick is more useful than a cannon without any ammunition, because no soldier can beat his enemy with the barrel of a cannon, but he can beat him with a stick. But neither history nor reason encourages the expectation that the verdicts of village juries are likely to be characterised as a rule by either wisdom or impartiality, or to be much more helpful for the ends of justice than sticks and stones against fire-arms. Trial by near neighbours is almost necessarily trial by personal friends or personal enemies, and there must always be a danger that each adverse decision will prove the starting-point of a new family feud where it is not the outcome of an old one. The ancient local courts of England died a slow natural death in competition with the far more costly, but more rational and impartial, justice of the itinerant royal judges, and our modern County Courts owe their comparative popularity to the fact that the judges are trained lawyers, unembarrassed by local connections.

I should like to see the champions of the Indian rayat summon up courage to demand, on his behalf, something better than the old *panchayats*; an instalment, if not the whole, of some such programme as the following :—

REPEAL OF THE COURT FEES ACT AND THE STAMP ACT.

Retention of the benefits, without the charges, or with greatly diminished charges, under the Registration Act; for if the principle here contended for be conceded, that the cost of litigation ought to be borne ordinarily by the State, it will follow that the registration of land transfers, tending as it does to diminish the likelihood of future litigation, as well as to save trouble in the collection of land revenue, should be charged, in part at least, to the Treasury, instead of the individual being charged, as now, nearly double the cost price of the service rendered.

Munsifs' Courts more thickly dotted over the country, and not too overburdened with work to inquire into the merits of undefended suits. And lastly :—

Instead of "long leave to the Legal Member of Council," increased

work, with a larger staff of assistants, for a gentleman marked out for the post by very different qualifications from those now commonly regarded as necessary and sufficient. The head of the Legislative Department should not have to begin his studies of Indian Law after appointment, but should be already familiar, not only with as many branches of the law, but with as many aspects of the life of the country to be legislated for as possible. Preference should be given, *ceteris paribus*, to a candidate having an Indian domicile, as being more likely to labour zealously for the improvement of the laws under which he meant to live and die, and also as being more likely to value the prospect, which should by all means be held out to him, of having his term of office extended, if he gave satisfaction, to a second or even a third quinquennium. Such a functionary would do, or get done by his subordinates, all the routine work now accomplished by the Legal Member and his Secretary; but he would do a great deal more besides.

He would complete the half-finished Code of Substantive Civil Law by (among other things) consolidating the meagre and in-harmonious enactments which now regulate the marriages, successions and domestic life generally of those who do not desire to be governed by Hindu, Muhammadan, or any other set of rules deduced by traditional exegesis from ancient Scriptures; and in so doing he would take care so to amend the definitions as to render self-emancipation from the yoke of a polygamous system no longer dependent on theological affirmations or negations.*

The way being so far cleared, he might or might not proceed to tackle the difficult problem of codifying the personal laws themselves, according as he received encouragement or the reverse from the castes and sects concerned, with whom he would be careful to

* At present if a Brahmo, who has renounced polytheism and idolatry and believes in monogamy, desires to contract a marriage in accordance with his convictions, he must denationalise himself, as it were, by solemnly declaring that he is not a Hindu. And in like manner a Moslem of the school of Mr. Amir Ali, who believes at once in the divine mission of Mahomet and in the obligation of monogamy under modern social conditions, must either do violence to the former conviction by declaring that he is not a Muhammadan, or to the latter by marrying under a law which allows both polygamy and arbitrary divorce (see Act III. of 1872), unless, like Mr. Amir Ali himself, he happens to have an opportunity of getting married in England. Why should it not be sufficient to declare simply that one desires to be governed for the future by the general territorial law of India?

keep in touch. And in all his legislative undertakings he would (it is to be hoped) bear in mind Mr. Ramji's warning as to the necessity of proper connecting links between the mind of the Sircar as expressed in juridical English and the minds of the people for whose guidance the laws are intended.

And here I will hazard the suggestion, with all the diffidence imposed by lack of local knowledge, that panchayats might be utilised to better purpose as petty legislatures than as juries. There are abundant precedents for official inquiries into the actual usages of tribes, villages and castes from the lips of living members; but the progressive and sympathetic legislator wants to know, not so much what has been acquiesced in from force of habit as what the majority of each community are now prepared to accept with intelligent approval when suggested and patiently explained to them; how far the spirit of the general code is capable of being expressed in terms which will seem like the spontaneous expression of local sentiment; and at what point a choice has definitely to be made between deferring to and openly overriding that sentiment. Why should not emissaries from the Legislative Department travel from village to village on such an errand, expounding, interrogating, inviting discussion, and, when possible, taking votes on debatable points? And why should not modified versions of the code, based on the reports of such emissaries, be placed in the hands of the local munsifs for their guidance?

The pursuit of simplicity in the administration of justice may very easily be overdone. It must always be a complex and difficult business so long as human nature is complex. What is wanted in India as elsewhere, and in rural quite as much as in urban India, is not less, but more scientific adaptation of means to ends. We want science brought to bear on the framing of laws, but we want it quite as much for their exposition and local application. Unfortunately, science, legal or other, is not to be had for nothing, and the question with which every Government is confronted, but which no Government has yet answered satisfactorily, is—Shall the same kind of justice, representing the same brain-work and the same cost, be meted out to rich and poor alike at the expense of the whole community?—or shall the poor be put off with an inferior article, in other words, with something as likely as not to be injustice?—or shall the

fee-less suitor be excluded altogether from the benefits of law while remaining amenable to its penalties ?

The answers hitherto given, both in England and India, have been shuffling and inconsistent. In both countries the right of the poor has been recognised in theory by permission to sue or defend *in forma pauperis*, but in both countries the permission has been fenced round by such a network of obstructive provisoes as to be in practice very little used. In both countries criminal justice is more nearly gratuitous than civil, without any solid reason for the distinction ; and in both countries the result has been to force into the petty criminal tribunals a great number of disputes which should have been, and otherwise would have been, brought into a civil court. But while the conditions are generally similar, they are, as we should expect, rather more unfavourable to the poor litigant in British India than in partially democratised England. For one thing, the State expenditure on civil justice is in England considerably in excess of the suitor's fees received ; whereas in India, taken as a whole, it is more than covered by the receipts. The reader will have gathered from what has been said already that I believe in solving the problem, which the present Legal Member is reported to have declared insoluble, by practically treating suits and defences *in forma pauperis* as the rule instead of the exception. I believe in providing at the public expense, in the first instance at all events, every kind of service—judicial, forensic, or evidential—that may be required for the just determination of the dispute. There may be cases in which the State may fairly recoup itself in part out of the property in dispute, and there may be other cases in which the party found to be in the wrong may properly be made to pay for the trouble he has caused ; but the time for considering such claims is after disposal of the main issue. To the hackneyed objection that to cheapen justice is to encourage litigation, one gets tired of making the obvious reply that righteous litigation ought by all means to be encouraged so long as any wrongs remain unredressed, and that its volume will increase automatically in proportion as repeated trials make it clear that dishonesty has ceased to pay ; whereas unrighteous litigation is discouraged by whatever renders it unnecessary for an honest man to count the cost of resistance. In poor India at all events, unless she is very much maligned, excep-

tional costliness of litigation goes hand in hand with exceptional prevalence of unwholesome litigiousness. I believe the former to be the cause and the latter the effect.

But while for these reasons I am convinced that there is urgent need for more money to be spent on cheapening and improving civil justice, I have a no less settled conviction that every proposal involving either expense or loss of revenue to the State should be accompanied by a specification of the particular new tax or retrenchment by which the financial equilibrium is to be maintained. To fulfil this obligation in detail would require another article, but I must not close without at least indicating the general principle of re-adjustment.

I assume, to begin with, that the limit of tolerable taxation has been already reached, if not passed, so that the money wanted must come from retrenchment in some quarter or other. And while concurring generally with the Congress party that military expenditure might be reduced if the "Forward" politicians could be restrained from making mischief, or that, in the alternative, we Britishers ought to pay for armaments maintained for Imperial rather than Indian objects, and while agreeing also with those reformers that there are still some economies to be effected by curtailment of the European agency and salaries, it is not solely or principally in these directions that I should look for economic salvation. I believe that this depends, more than anything else, on ruler and subject coming to something like a definite understanding as to the limits of State action, and consequently as to the purposes for which alone the subject should be taxed.

I can understand, though I do not share, the leaning towards collectivism in a homogeneous democracy, where the difference is comparatively slight between sums willingly contributed by all and taxes voted by a majority. I find it much more difficult to understand how my countrymen can imagine themselves fitted to play the part of a *Má Báp Sircar* to a heterogeneous population of 230 millions on the other side of the globe, watching with motherly care over the development of their (presumably) infantile intelligence, telling them what to read and what to believe, how to doctor themselves and how to regulate their domestic expenditure, and taking from them, in payment for all this supervision, so much of their

income as to leave them little or nothing to regulate ; and I find it hardest of all to believe in this ideal really commending itself to the thoughtful leaders of native opinion. If it does, by all means let them continue to chide the Government for not spending enough on education and research ; but if not, they cannot too soon or too earnestly set their faces towards the opposite ideal of a Government adequately represented by the old symbols of sceptre, sword and scales ; keeping the peace with the strong hand, and dealing out equal justice between man and man ; taking enough in taxes for the thorough performance of these homely but indispensable functions, and not a pie more ; and so giving the subject a chance to thrive with the remainder, to support from his superfluity priests or schoolmasters or neither, according to his free choice, and gradually to build up independence of character on the solid foundation of security to person and property.

Let me conclude with one concrete example of the principle on which I should like to see the Indian budget readjusted. Abolition of court fees would mean, according to the latest statistics, a sacrifice of revenue to the extent of nearly a million and a half sterling. The total expenditure on education in India, from provincial revenues and local and Municipal funds taken together, came in 1899-1900 to £1,148,457, and the increased grants subsequently announced will bring it, I think (I have not the exact figures before me), somewhere near a million and a half. Now, if I were Viceroy of India, and were further possessed of a spell to hypnotise British public opinion, my first instalment of reform would be to set off these sums against each other ; thus at once relieving unfortunate suitors without adding to the burden of the taxpayer, and setting free education from the demoralising influence of State patronage.

ROLAND K. WILSON.

SOME THOUGHTS ON "THE MENTAL SECLUSION OF INDIA."

ONE of the most able and interesting books published last year was, without doubt, Mr. Meredith Townsend's "Asia and Europe."

I first came to know of it by having repeated to me the remark of a distinguished public man in England that if he could only afford to buy one book in the course of the year then current, "Asia and Europe" would be the book he would buy. On reading it I was able to understand very well the high estimate that had been formed of it. In several ways it is certainly remarkable. The author possesses a literary style which in perspicuity, vividness, ease, and grace rivals that of Froude or Lecky. He discloses in every page a power of original and penetrating observation very seldom met with. He manifests an extensive and thorough knowledge of India, her characteristics and her problems. Above all, he writes in a way which makes one think, revealing much that was hidden before and opening out great tracts of varied and fruitful suggestion. Nevertheless, there is something to be said on the other side.

Interesting, stimulating, suggestive as the book undoubtedly is, it is also disappointing and depressing. As one lays it down one is conscious of having been in contact for a while with a mind of singular grasp and insight, and a wonderful kind of imagination, and yet one which has constructed almost nothing, and which, after grappling skilfully with its many topics, has left India as great a mystery as ever. At the same time, if a remarkable and fascinating book can serve to increase the interest which Europe takes in Asia, we should expect that such would be the effect of the book in

question. It is a very striking contribution to the purposes which, as I understand them, seem to animate *East & West*.

Observing that the book consisted of a collection of essays written at various times and on subjects not closely connected with each other, I selected first for perusal one which bore the title, "The Mental Seclusion of India." I found that this chapter, under its somewhat original heading, discussed the question which, above all others, must be of interest to those who have at heart the growth of cordial and helpful relations between Asiatics and Europeans, viz., the possibility of the one race coming really to know and understand the other. Mr. Townsend seems to exclude this possibility, not because of any fault or shortcoming or absence of desire on the part of the European, but because, in his judgment, the Asiatic is entirely unknowable. Nor is this because of any mystery which shrouds and enfolds his inner nature, or because, apart from his own will, his true self is occult and impenetrable. It is because he deliberately "secludes himself" from all except a chosen circle. He permits the European to see the surface of his life, to hold a superficial intercourse with him, to exchange with him the lighter kind of sentiments and courtesies. But his real life, intellectual and spiritual, his real consciousness, his ways of regarding the substantial and serious things of life—these are too sacred to be revealed to the stranger. They belong to a region of his life which, by his own deliberate purpose, he screens from all except a few. •

In proof of this, Mr. Townsend asserts that, though the English have governed India for about a century, yet "no Anglo-Indian, whether official or adventurer, has ever written a book which, in the least degree, revealed to his countrymen the inner character, or wishes or motives of any considerable section, or of any great single class of this immensely numerous people." He thinks that if any Anglo-Indian could write what was perceived to be a "revealing" book "about Indians or any section of them, he would, as his reward, receive fortune, reputation among his contemporaries, fame with posterity; and yet no Anglo-Indian has ever done it or, so far as appears, ever will do it." The European does not understand the Asiatic. He can govern him, but that is only because his Government is characterised by certain features of

justice, tolerance, mercy, firmness, which the Indian approves. He does not live among the Indian people at all, but only on the same part of the world's surface as they live. "They are fenced off from each other by an invisible, impalpable but impassable wall, &c." This wall is the deliberate creation of Indians of all grades. On the other hand, there is no corresponding reticence or habit of self-concealment on the part of the European towards the Indian. "After the intercourse of years your Indian friend knows you better, perhaps, than you know yourself, especially on your weaker side; but you only know him as you know a character in a second-rate novel, that is, as much as the author has been able to reveal, but never quite the whole. In exceptional cases, quite exceptional, you may know as much as you know of Hamlet, know so much, that is, that you could write a book of reflections upon the character; but you will still be aware of the supreme puzzle that you know all of Hamlet, but Hamlet."

Such is the vivid picture which Mr. Townsend draws of the relations of Asiatics towards Europeans in India. It is not a little discouraging coming from a writer of such experience and one possessed of such powers of observation and judgment. If it be a true picture, the social movements which have been set on foot in recent years to draw the races together seem doomed to failure. We have got into the way of thinking that want of interest, aloofness, selfishness, a supercilious demeanour on the part of Europeans was the indictment against them in the native mind. And perhaps it is too true that such faults have tended to hinder the growth of good relations and to increase the chasm between Europeans and their Indian neighbours. But if Mr. Townsend's doctrine be true, no amount of courtesy, friendliness, consideration, frankness of intercourse, opening of the heart, attention and sympathy could materially lessen it. There is this deep, resolute purpose and resolve on the part of the Indian not to reveal himself to the European. One's heart sinks to contemplate such an attitude on the part of one's Indian friends. We know that in all societies the best antidote to frictions, misunderstandings, secret suspicions, jealousies and alienations is fuller intercourse and better understanding one of another. Human nature is weak, and in India, perhaps, especially sensitive and easily ruffled. It is easy to settle into a dissatisfied and morbid state of mind. In

the isolation of his own room many a man feels vexed and petulant with respect to his neighbour, perhaps he scarcely knows why. But when the two meet, and look each other in the face and converse and open out to one another, such feelings vanish like a dark dream and are succeeded by warmth and geniality. It would be sad indeed if there were, deep-seated in the mind of the Indian, an impassable barrier to the growth of better frames of mind. And what is the reason of the particular mental attitude described on the part of the Indian towards the European ? On this subject Mr. Townsend has a theory. "It is not the European to whom the Indian will not reveal himself, but mankind, outside a circle usually wonderfully small and often a single family, from whom he mentally retreats. His first pre-occupation in life is to keep his caste, his separateness, his ceremonial purity, from any contact with any other equally separate crystal; and in that pre-occupation, permanent and all-absorbing for thousands of years, he has learnt to shroud his inner mind till, in revealing it, he feels as if he were revealing some shrine which it is a blasphemy to open, as if he had earned from Heaven the misfortune he thinks sure to follow."

There is a good deal of comfort to be derived from this last powerful and eloquent passage. It affords the key to the writer's strong impressions with respect to the unknowableness of the Indian. Without doubt he is difficult to know, naturally reticent, sensitive, suspicious, it may be inwardly somewhat scornful of the European. Again, there is no doubt, in the minds of a limited number, a hereditary sense of inherent superiority, a consciousness of caste dignity, a feeling of being different from other men because standing in closer hereditary relations to Deity. But I believe that Mr. Townsend has greatly exaggerated the influence of caste feeling on the minds of Indians. His imagination has seized a theory which has seemed to explain the characteristics he has observed, and he has allowed it full rein to expand and develop it. But it is only a theory after all—a picture in which we discern many traces of the artist's license. He has laid hold of some salient features of Indian character, and then he has constructed a doctrine to explain them, which he applies not to individuals only but to the whole race, pronouncing it to be unknowable, and arguing that it must of necessity be so because of a great mental and spiritual purpose pervading it, and every individual

member of it to keep himself apart and aloof from strangers, to eschew intimacy, to shun contact, to seclude his real self in order that he may preserve untainted his distinctive innate characteristics and by retaining his separateness, draw nearer to God. It is matter for gratification that Mr. Townsend has disclosed his theory so clearly as he has. Reflections on the unknowableness of the Indian coming from a man of his ability would have been very serious if they left the impression that they were founded on unquestionable facts. And, no doubt, what he has observed others have observed also. As one studies his picture it seems to depict in vivid outline the very impressions latent in one's own mind. But as soon as one reads the closing passage, there springs up a feeling of relief. The writer's theory cannot interpret the attitude of Indians in general. The caste consciousness and the purpose flowing from it may be, as he describes it, in the case of a limited number, but it is a number which is always diminishing. Can any one imagine that successive generations of young men will go to England for their education and come into contact with the free social life of the West ; or that, without going to England, they will receive a Western education in India and become influenced, as they must do, by Western ideas, and yet retain the consciousness which Mr. Townsend describes ? Does any young Indian at an English university retain it ? Is he not, like the rest of mankind, sensitive to the pleasures of companionship, of familiar intercourse, of exchange of ideas, experiences, confidences ? Is it possible for any young man to live in a university in isolation from the eager, throbbing life in the midst of which he finds himself ? Has he no deep interests, questionings, aspirations, prospects, hopes and fears ? Do other young men not disclose their minds to him, and if they do, does he remain unaffected by the influence of one mind upon another ? Is it not certain that a new and unfettered consciousness must grow up within ? Must he not come to feel that there are no essential or unalterable distinctions of birth which ought to separate men from each other, that the true bonds which unite men are not those which pertain to an imaginary status, but the bonds of intellectual affinity, of kindred taste, of educational culture, of moral purpose, of community of aims and aspirations ? Every year a larger number of Indian youth are becoming sensible of the reality and strength of such bonds as these, and correspondingly

indifferent to the artificial theories and obligations of caste, however ancient these may be, or however deep-rooted in the minds of the people. They know quite well that these latter cannot survive as India emerges from her isolation and takes her place in the developing life of mankind. I have been struck with the views expressed to me on this subject by young men with whom I have conversed. And these are the men who will mould the social life of India in the future. They are frank enough now in opening their hearts to sympathetic listeners, and I venture to think that, under their influence in the future, the mental seclusion of India will quickly pass away.

Is it not the case that caste is rapidly dissolving even in India? May not its rules and obligations even now be violated with impunity? It is commonly reported, certainly, that many men "eat beef, drink wine, wear shoes made of cowhide, sit at table with Europeans without losing their position in society," and that "Hindus may do almost anything now except receive Christian Baptism." In fact, it seems that the caste consciousness bred through long centuries in the mind of the Indian is decaying far more quickly under present-day solvents than could have been anticipated. Caste has now become chiefly a matter of social etiquette. It pertains to dignity and position. On family and ceremonial occasions it comes to the front and makes itself felt, but in ordinary life its influence counts for little, and in another half-century, when English will be understood and spoken all over India to a greater extent than Hindustani¹ is to-day, and the contact with the strong and progressive civilisations of the world becomes more general, constant and intimate, it will disappear altogether, at least from centres of enlightenment and from the minds and habits of educated men. Personally, I am in some ways sorry to think of this. I have a kind of veneration for the distinctive institutions and characteristics of Indian life, many of which are so picturesque and so deeply interesting. But I should feel the keenest resentment towards caste if I thought that it constituted any real barrier to the growth of fellowship and confidence between Europeans and Indians. Whatever might be urged in favour of it, such a propensity must far outweigh it on the adverse side. Nations can never receive their true development or utilise their gifts or attain their just place, or fulfil their proper mission except in close

intercourse, competition and fellowship with other nations. They cannot grow if they continue isolated, eccentric, superstitious and different from the rest of mankind. The free mingling of nations develops the distinctive gifts and capabilities of each and enables each to make its intended contribution to the welfare and onward progress of humanity.

Therefore, I am glad to think that Mr. Townsend's reflections, however powerful, are somewhat out of date. It would have been more serious if he had contended that the Indian constitutionally, and by virtue of innate and unalterable temperament, must remain unknowable to the European. But it saves the case that he makes his theory dependent on caste, for caste is assuredly a vanishing factor in the life of India. And those of us who are in earnest in wishing to know our Indian neighbours better than we do, who believe in our hearts that our countrymen have somewhat failed in dutiful effort to know them hitherto, who are resolved to do all in our power to promote good fellowship and helpful interchange of ideas, may pursue our ideals without the discouragement of thinking them foredoomed to disappointment, because the Indian has always secluded himself, and will always continue to do so; and because with him it is a matter of principle and religious obligation that he should not suffer himself to be known.

One is certainly rather startled to read Mr. Townsend's observations on the subject of "Race Hatred" in India. He believes that it exists strongly, though chiefly in towns and among the educated minority, and that it does not, in normal circumstances, affect the vast masses of the labouring people. Where it does exist, he naturally feels that it would be a good thing to get rid of it. But it is illustrative of the unexpected turn that the mind of a man of genius may take that he discredits and apparently repudiates the accepted remedy of freer and more friendly association between the races. After mentioning the establishment, in recent days, of united Athenæums, mixed receptions, clubs in London where the cultured of both races may learn to understand each other, and he might have added clubs of the same kind in India like the "Orient" club in Bombay, he expresses his doubt whether the remedy thus favoured is not altogether the wrong one, and whether "more seclusion from each other would not be more profitable advice." In support of

this suggestion, he urges that where the Englishman is best known he is least appreciated. Thus, for example, in Ireland, he has the fullest intercourse possible with men of a different race, and he is more hated there than anywhere else. He has become hated in Egypt as the English have increased in numbers in that country. He is most disliked in those places in India where he is most in evidence, and, on the other hand, he is respected and almost loved in the rural districts where few of his race are seen. Mr. Townsend thinks that the mutiny affords conclusive evidence of the inborn, unchanging aversion of the Indian towards the European. The sepoys knew their officers intimately; they had been treated well by them; they were conscious both of their kindness and their gallantry; they had a kind of superficial affection for them as long as they were under control. But the moment the army got out of hand and the sepoys felt their power, they made a clean sweep both of the officers and their families. The deep-seated hatred asserted itself as soon as the opportunity came. The pessimistic conclusion is drawn from these circumstances that "the less the white and the coloured races come into contact with each other, the less is the development of race hatred, which only tends to become dangerous when they are interspersed, and mutually comprehend one another's strength and weakness." And that "it ought to be an inexorable etiquette for every European to treat every native acquaintance or interlocutor—we are not speaking of friends—with a grave and kindly but distant courtesy, not unlike that of the native himself in his best mood."

Now I think that Mr. Townsend's instances scarcely support his argument or the dismal conclusion to which it leads.

In Ireland there has been a long-standing quarrel and a sense of unjust treatment in the past. More recently there has been the disappointment of a movement for autonomy which received the impulse of a great statesman's advocacy and political support in England. There is no essential race hatred between the English and the Irish, though political differences, and conflicting aims and aspirations have led to frictions and alienations which have hardened into settled dislike. It is natural, perhaps, that in some circumstances, contact with the English should somewhat rub the Irish sores. But I think the instances are not few in which association and

fellowship have led to the happiest relations of mutual esteem and good will. Nor did the mutiny in India afford any evidence of the normal feelings of the people. It was an altogether exceptional occurrence. Sensibilities had been wounded, suspicions had been aroused, groundless apprehensions had been excited. Some parallel to it in a very small way was furnished by what took place in consequence of the Plague Regulations a few years ago. The people became excited. They believed that violence was contemplated towards their most sacred traditional customs and usages. Rather than submit to that they would rise in a body and drive out the oppressors. What was that but a fierce and short-lived impulse, the growth of misunderstanding? Was the mutiny anything more? There entered into it, no doubt, a more dangerous element of fanaticism which believed that God's time had come to vindicate the sacredness of national life and to re-establish a historical dynasty. But do such occurrences indicate at all the settled and permanent mind of the people? Do they afford any clue to the feelings of Indians towards Europeans at ordinary times? Surely it is unfair and irrational to judge so. The Indian is not different from men of other nations in his characteristics and capabilities. The emotions that struggle within him are the same as those of other men. He loves as they do, he is sensitive to sympathy, he responds to kindness, and he is capable, as all are, of resentment under the sense of wrong.

There is nothing more hurtful than the feeling in the minds of Europeans that the Indian is a different kind of being from themselves, and nothing more regrettable than the elaboration of clever theories to prove that such is the case. If Europeans have done in the past far less than, in many cases, they might have done to know him by acquiring his languages, by studying his habits, by cultivating friendly intercourse with him, that must be considered as an alternative to the theory that he is unknowable. It is much to be hoped that the movement for increased association between the different races, which Mr. Townsend distrusts, may gain strength and favour, and produce results in the future of India, which will tend towards its happiness, elevation and progress, and enable its people to rise to their true place among the nations of the world.

SUFISM.

"Thou art a thing of infinite beauty, but thou turnest not thine eyes on thyself."—DIVAN-I-SHAMS-I-TABRIZ.

IN his latest literary effort Max Müller says of the Vedanta, that in it "human speculation seems to have reached its very acme." This is true, and true not only of the Vedanta, but also of Sufism. Sufism is pre-eminently a subject to be taught and learnt, not to be *tasted* or *swallowed* intellectually, but to be *chewed* and *digested*. It is impossible to do it justice within the limits of a magazine article. All that can be done here, and all that I propose to do, is to make a few incidental remarks, rather to excite curiosity than satisfy it. My purpose is to awaken an interest in the subject and to induce a study of indigenous works by real Sufis with the help of one having a true insight into and living faith in Sufism. This study must be patiently and perseveringly continued, until such time as it bears fruit or the harvest is reaped. Before the goal is reached it is all toil and travail, and unless the aspirant has firm and unwavering faith that he is to gather an immensely rich harvest, whose value it is impossible to measure or to express in words, he may abandon the task unfinished. In such a case he acts like the agriculturist who prepares the ground and sows the seed, and then not finding an immediate harvest, ceases altogether to work.

Nothing can be more practical, fruit-bearing than Sufism, for as a great Sufi poet sings, "the man of God [*i. e.*, a true Sufi] is elated without wine and sated without dainties." Nay, Sufism is a panacea for all ills, not in a merely approximate sense like mundane remedies, but in an exact and absolute sense. Here is no matter for hyperbole, because, whereas in other cases our powers of expression can easily transcend the fact to be expressed, in the present case the fact transcends the expression, and that by an immeasurable interval.

These pretensions, as they appear, will no doubt be taken by some as extravagant ; but I must ask the reader to wait till he has gone through such a course of study as I have recommended, and then be critical if he will. I would go further, and in the interests of the true aspirant point out that if, after a long study, he misses the fruit, let him not rashly conclude that he has carried on a fruitless investigation, but that he has not pursued his study long enough. Let him not lose heart, but persevere, and in time he is bound to arrive at the end of his journey.

To follow a time-hallowed custom, I may here say a word or two on the term *Sufi*. The origin of the term—as is commonly the case—is shrouded in obscurity. While some derive it from the Greek *sophoi*, plural of *sophos*, the most accredited derivation is from the Arabic *suf*, wool, so that a *Sufi* is literally one clad in wool. This, of course, represents an external characteristic or an *accident* of Sufism, and that, too, by no means universal, for there needs no ghost to tell us that all clad in wool are not Sufis, or that all Sufis are not clad in wool. This origin looks the more probable when it is remembered that the word *candidate* is derived from the fact of the white (L. *candidus*) dress of those so designated in ancient Rome, and that nearer home we have such vocables as *svetambara* and *digambara* (applied to sects of Jains), literally meaning clad in white and sky-clad (nude).

The first thing to be learnt in connection with any science whatsoever is the answer to the question: "What is its object-matter ; what does it deal with ?" For instance, the student of astronomy begins with the knowledge that his science deals with the heavenly bodies, or the student of optics with the knowledge that the phenomena of vision are to engage his attention. What, then, is the object (*i. e.*, the thing, the fact, the reality) with which Sufism deals ? Different answers can be given to this question from different points of view. It may be said, for example, that Sufism treats of God, and is a type of theology. It is commonly so described, and not seldom stigmatised as *pantheistic*. One proficient in this system is styled *arif-i-billah* (a knower of God), or *vasil-i-billah* (one united with God), according to the grade of proficiency. It may also be plausibly described as a type of cosmology. I am, however, convinced that the best and most useful answer to the

question, which a teacher can give to the novice in Sufism, is that Sufism deals primarily neither with God nor with the world, but with the questioner himself. It deals with man and his nature, and may be rightly styled anthropology, not in the usual sense, but in the transfigured sense of the science of the true nature of man. It may also be described as the science of the *ego* or self-science, *i.e.*, the science of the *true* attributes of the thing "I." Words such as anatomy and physiology will not do, for the *all-important* reason that, as according to Bishop Butler, so according to the Sufis, "our gross organised bodies are no more ourselves or part of ourselves than any other matter around us." Nay, the term *psychology*, as ordinarily understood, is equally inapplicable, for, according to Sufism, not only does the body not constitute the ego or any part thereof, but the mind likewise is extraneous to or other than the ego. The object-matter, then, of Sufism is the ego, or the "I." The theme of Vedantism is exactly the same, and the essential contents of the two systems are also indetical. The real difference between Vedantism and Sufism lies not in the matter but in the manner, *i.e.*, in the method of treatment; for while Vedanta mainly appeals to the head or the intellect, and is a sort of philosophic *science*, Sufism mainly addresses the heart or the emotions and may be characterised as philosophic *poetry*. If it be objected that the theories of metempsychosis, the three *gunas*, &c., to be found in the Vedanta are missing in Sufism, or conversely that not a few speculations are to be met with in Sufism, which have no counterpart in Vedantism, let it be remembered that such doctrines, theories, or speculations belong to the shell of Sufism or Vedantism, and not to the kernel thereof; and that there is great danger in thus mistaking the chaff for the wheat. This subject of the ego, common to Sufism and Vedantism, was the favourite study of Socrates, who used to say that he received the first impulse towards his investigations from the oracular aphorism 'know thyself.' It is, however, impossible to ascertain the exact contents of his belief in the matter; as his teaching was purely oral, and as in the writings of his ablest disciple, the doctrine of the master cannot be dissevered and differentiated from that of the pupil. It is impossible to recover Plato's own exact position regarding the subject owing to the form of dialogue and also owing to the apparent conflict between the different dialogues. In some respects the far

humbler Xenophon appears to approach nearer to the teaching of the common master. The *Phaedon*, however, Plato's *magnum opus*, from a qualitative point of view, is worth study as a discourse on the science we are now considering, viz., the science of the ego. The celebrated *Republic*, though quantitatively superior, is of far inferior value, in any case not worth much for our present purpose.

In Sufism, as in Vedantism, we find an all-important truth conveyed in the formula that the so-called waking state of man is, from a higher standpoint, a dream. This doctrine, thus formulated, is on the face of it as startling as it is possible for any teaching whatsoever to be, and it is no doubt easy to abuse the words of Longfellow and meet it with the glib retort, "Tell me not in mournful numbers, life is but an empty dream," &c. But when it is said that men are dreaming while they imagine themselves awake, it is only an emphatic, metaphorical mode of conveying the truth that men in their waking state labour under misconceptions regarding their own nature, as radical or fundamental as those that are sometimes made in a dream. Who is unaware that in a dream one often gets metamorphosed or transfigured? For instance, a beggar is transformed into a world-emperor like Alexander of Macedon or Napoleon, and at times an emperor fancies himself to be a beggar and goes through the experiences of one. The burden of the Sufi's song is that it has happened thus to us mortals. We are the victims of a hallucination, and we are not what we in this world-vision suppose ourselves to be, but something quite apart. It would not, indeed, be overshooting the mark to say that our condition is like that of the madman who imagined himself to be made of glass, and consequently as brittle and vulnerable as glass. Having thus hammered into us the sleepy nature of our waking conceptions, Sufism urges us to shake off our slumber and try to recover the consciousness of our true selves.

To repeat what I have just said, man labours under fundamental misconceptions regarding his own nature or being. The great difficulty of the subject consists in this, that the human mind is already full of pre-conceptions about itself; it is not merely vacant ground to be occupied. The student of other sciences, as a rule, starts with a *tabula rasa*, a clean slate, an absence of pre-conceived notions regarding the matter in hand. It is quite otherwise with the science of

the ego. Here, in every one's mind, there are already—in occupation of the ground—beliefs of the deepest possible depth. Who does not think he knows what he is, and who is not mystified if he is told that Sufism or Vedantism is to teach him what he is? Who is not apt to pronounce such systems (in an opprobrious sense) mystic or mystical? Even if a child is questioned about itself, it will be ready with information as to sex, age, condition of health, &c, &c. It is this knot of apparently inexplicable beliefs that constitutes the great stumbling-block in the way of the study of the ego. Such difficulties sometimes occur in the learning of the sciences too, but they are as naught when placed side by side with those which confront us in the study of self-science. The student of astronomy may start with the prejudice that the earth is stationary, and that it is flat and not an oblate spheroid, but what is the strength of these beliefs compared with the strength of the beliefs: "I am feverish," "I am old," "I shall die"? .

Were it not for the difficulty of "lifting a mountain," which I have just described, the labour required for imprinting Sufism on the mind and making it Sufi—for it is the mind and not the ego, that is a Sufi or is not a Sufi—would be infinitely abridged. For, as an English student of Sufism remarks, "Sufism has few ideas," nay, only one. "The whole code of nature's laws," says Emerson, "may be written on the thumb-nail or the signet of a ring." The whole body of Sufi doctrines may likewise be written on the thumb-nail or the signet of a ring. But this has to be engraved in every nerve and fibre, and assimilated with every drop of the blood of a Sufi.

F. M. KHIMJIANI.

AN INDIAN HOSTEL IN LONDON.

AS one who has carefully noted the difficulties and dangers through which the young Indian student for the Bar has to pass the three years of his life amid the temptations of the great city, I came to India determined to find out if his fellow-countrymen could not do something to find him some support and some home life away from home in the great solitude of London, where the greatest loneliness must be amid millions who are absolute aliens and strangers to the Indian student and all his old associations of family and friends. There are, I find, very nearly two hundred of such students in London for nine or ten months in each year, the majority keeping their terms and attending the Law Lectures at the Four Inns of Court, and a smaller percentage of them walking the great hospitals of London. As one of the Benchers of Gray's Inn I have watched with interest, and also sometimes with sorrow, the temptations which surround them, and to which they would not be human if they did not succumb. The enquiries of anxious parents in India, the petitions the students themselves present for the return of their caution money and deposits, demonstrate very clearly the straits to which they are brought, and in most cases, I will not say all, it is to their environments in their lodgings that we can trace their *descensus averni*. Indian parents write to our steward about their sons and their mistakes ; but he, most anxious as he is to give them the best advice, can have no control or guidance over their home life, where their temptations begin, and where designing women, quite as much and worse than men, surround them like Potiphar's wife. Indian parents I have met in India—fathers, of course, mostly—and from them I have heard, not unnaturally, of the objection that Indian mothers have against their sons going to London. Whilst, as a rule, the fathers, in their desire for their sons'

advancement, believe, and justly, that an European education gives them a knowledge of men and things which no Anglo-Indian training, even in the best of colleges like that of the Mahomedan college at Aligarh, can possibly provide, the mothers point to the returned wrecks, the miserable misalliances, the ill-assorted marriages and the horrible moral entanglements which have been the result of keeping Terms in London. But the parents would feel less anxious, the mothers would offer less opposition, if they knew that instead of sending their clever and loved ones to a strange hotel and to unknown lodgings and to undesirable landladies, there was an Indian Hostel in London where they would be welcomed, looked after, and put on the right track as to where, and how, and when, they could begin their career of study and work. Let me give my Indian readers some idea of the difficulty of the ordinary Indian student on his arrival in our great city. He comes from a middle class home in India, a Hindu or a Mahomedan ; he has probably never been to a European hotel in his life, and he goes overland, and, of course, stops in Paris to see the sights. Here every one thinks he must be an Indian Prince and he is charged accordingly, and a week or ten days in the gay capital makes a big hole in his first year's allowance ; and in London, of course, he must first go to some hotel, more or less expensive, before he seeks for his London residence among the streets and squares of Bloomsbury. He has some friends living there, fellow Indians, and they, perhaps, take him round and give him an idea of a lodging housekeeper's charges and ways. It is well for such an one if they can plant him in a comfortable English home, especially if he would live with an English family out in the suburbs where some home life would be possible and the dangers of London evenings avoided. The theatre is not debasing, but the surroundings of the music hall are most undesirable, and here, in the promenade, rather than to the theatre, is the new Indian arrival promptly taken to see the sights of town. At Oxford or Cambridge, if he could not be taken into the college for residence, there would be some authorised list of lodgings where he would be safe from the earlier temptations of a new-comer, and where late home-coming would be impossible ; but neither at our Inns of Court nor at our hospitals can there be found such lists of safe lodgings or of satisfactory homes and owners. The Indian student should have somewhere to go to, some hostel to arrive at, before he sets out

to attend his examination and to begin eating his dinners. Too often he cannot commence his course on arrival on account of defective preparation. He is, of course, excused a knowledge of Latin, but necessarily he must be able to write English grammatically and correctly, and to my personal knowledge and regret I must record that he comes terribly unprepared for want of intelligent training. Young Indians have complained to me bitterly that the English teacher has been a native, and what they have learnt from him must be unlearnt or added to in London; and I would impress upon Indian parents and professors that their sons and pupils should not be allowed to set out for England without the direct assurance from an English teacher or barrister that their knowledge of English history and composition is sufficient to pass the preliminary examination for the Bar. I have sent back young Indians with sorrow, and they have shown me with disgust the sort of text-books that have been given them to cram for this preliminary examination. Another two or three months must elapse, after each failure, before they can go up for the next attempt; and if there were an Indian home or hostel, there would also be someone who could guide and direct their studies and see that they devoted a sufficient number of hours daily to the necessary preparation. The head of such a hostel must be an Englishman with experience of, and love for the natives of India, and he ought to have associated with him others who are themselves identified with the religions and races of India, viz., Hindus and Mahomedans. The Englishman would be able to pioneer the new arrival in London, the native resident to cheer, encourage and live with the new arrivals. It might be that the young Indian would find friends with whom he would like to share lodgings, or a family would be selected with whom he might in safety be allowed to dwell; but it is to the hostel, the home in London, he should be first sent by his parents or guardians with definite instructions to the President as to his allowance in London, and the wishes that his father or guardian had as to his education and his home life. There the best men could and would be always ascertainable as Tutors or Coaches for every one of the examinations, medical or legal, the student has to go through, and the fees which the father would be called upon to pay would be direct savings to the family purse; because the residence in London would not be prolonged, and

the guardians could always ascertain with ease what was the educational and the financial position of their sons. The hostel, of course, must not be a charitable institution ; it must be made self-supporting, though a guarantee fund or endowment would be necessary for the first five years. The hostel must be in a central position, within walking distance of the Temple and the Hospitals. It must be a home in the best sense of the word, and there must be no attempt at proselytising. Every one who knows me in England, and some who have criticised me in India, complain of my militant churchmanship, but because I am a strong supporter of Denominational Education, it is for that very reason I call upon the rich natives of India to provide a home for their co-religionists in England ; and, if it were possible, I should be only too glad to see Hindu and Mahomedans accommodated separately, so that they might enjoy their worship and their religious teachers' presence under the hostel roof just as is to be found in that splendid centre of Mahomedan training at Ali-garh. The principal or head must be European and have had an university training, but though the student has to be piloted through the most difficult phases of London life, it must be by one who knows and respects the religious scruples of Indian mothers as well as of Indian fathers. It is to give him home from home, to provide him with an English friend and with Hindu and Mahomedan fellow students, to give him the assistance of strong heads and firm wills, and yet not to take him away from the old associations of race or religion. I write thus plainly, because I think it is to some native resident in India that we must look for the due provision of this great and acknowledged want. If it were to be met by Englishmen and Christians for their own race and for their own people, they would, in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, require Christian influence and control.

There are so many rich Indians who know that what I am describing is a real want. Some of them have known personally the loneliness of London life and its dangers. They have clever young men belonging to their schools or their dependents, for whom an European education would be invaluable, but the two elements of expense and danger have always to be faced.

To begin with, a house which would give accommodation for

twenty students would be sufficient ; they must have each their separate room for rest and study ; this must be the minimum of comfort, and there must be absolute and unqualified rules and power of enforcing obedience by the acknowledged head. A visit to Toynbee Hall in East London, to the Oxford House in Cornwallis St., Calcutta, or in Bethnal Green, or the Cambridge Mission in South London, would easily demonstrate the happiness and homeliness of such a well-ordered and well-regulated life. There should, of course, be a representative committee in London, not too many titled persons, but some retired Indians who would devote some of their leisure not only to committee work but in personal interest in, and friendly interviews with, each new arrival.

A number of wealthy and representative Indians have come over to London for the Coronation of the Emperor-King, and I am confident that just as his august Consort has always shown especial interest in the wants of the poorer working women in England, so His Imperial Majesty, whose anxiety for the students of the school of music resulted in the provision of one of the most splendid buildings in London by one of its merchant princes, the late Sir Francis Cook, would regard as one of the happiest and lasting memorials of this great ceremony, the anointing and the crowning at Westminster, the provision of a London Hostel for those who are strangers and pilgrims in the greatest and loneliest city in the world.

H. C. RICHARDS.

THE CHURCH AND BIBLICAL CRITICISM.

THE extreme agitation caused in orthodox circles by what is loosely called the Higher Biblical criticism, finds expression in many significant ways. Not long ago there was an imposing gathering of clerical dignitaries at Oxford to protest against the Higher criticism, and devise means of counteracting its dangerous tendencies. Now there lies before me a small pamphlet by Samuel Smith, M.P., containing his address to the Liverpool Christian Endeavour Union, with an Excursus on the Higher criticism. Every right thinking person who has the interests of the human race more closely at heart than any prospect of personal comfort or advancement, must sympathise with true religious feeling, however perverted may be the channels through which it manifests itself. But before touching very gently upon the delicate controversies suggested by the deliberations of the Oxford Synod and the Excursus, I would make one or two general introductory observations. Nothing strikes the unprejudiced critic of this literature more forcibly than the extraordinary vehemence with which the orthodox party resent all criticism, higher or lower, directed to the interesting question of the historical accuracy, as well as the inspiration of the sacred books. Their mental attitude is one of uncompromising intolerance; they are not concerned with refuting, they altogether anathematise the Higher criticism. I confess that I find it very difficult to appreciate this frame of mind. It is, or ought to be, of as vital importance to the Churchman as to the non-Churchman that the truth of the revelation on which his sacred commission avowedly rests should be placed beyond dispute. But the cause of Truth is not, I believe, served by an angry, petulant rejection of all attempts, however well meant and reverently expressed, to indicate possible doubts. Few minds were more profoundly tinged with the best

religious emotion than that of the late Lord Tennyson, and I would recommend to scolding Divines, who appear to think that they answer hostile criticism by abusing it, the celebrated lines? "There is more faith in honest doubt, believe me, than in half the creeds." The central grievance of the Oxford Synod upon which one eminent Churchman after another dwelt with pathetic insistence and illogicality, was that any one should be impious enough to venture upon the Higher criticism at all. Does it not occur to these rather purblind leaders of the blind that Truth stands in need of no such cossetting? Truth is no delicate hot-house flower to be protected against every gust of rude winds. The most virulently searching adverse criticism conceivable cannot harm what is true. On the contrary, Truth comes out of all such ordeals, the stronger, the brighter, the more impressively triumphant in proportion to the powers of falsehood she has resisted and overthrown. When, then, the timorous flocks see their appointed shepherds shrinking with feeble, hysterical clamours from the proffered encounter, can they help feeling uneasily that the alleged Truth upon which these shepherds have so often and so unqualifiedly staked the virtue of their commissions is, if a Truth at all, a Truth that is not based too solidly on any reasoned conviction? The conventional excuse under which flurried Divines are in the habit of evading the simplest issues, that certain subjects are too sacred for discussion, begins to lose its force. The developing reason of man, developing only too slowly, it is true, but still developing, begins to insist upon the need of having vitally important dogmata set clearly above the possibility of avoidable error. Western intellect is passing out of the stage in which the mass of it was content to accept its most essential beliefs upon the mere *ipse dixit* of a Priest. The Priest is not to-day what he was a thousand years ago, lifted by training and scholarship immeasurably above the intellectual level of his flock; on the contrary, if it might be said without offence, the average intellect of congregations, in this country at any rate, is higher than that of their Pastors. If the accredited champions of the Church are not prepared to come into the arena and do battle against that criticism which they are always ready to denounce so freely, it is almost inevitable that they will lose prestige to a dangerous extent in the opinions of those who honestly desire to respect them. To a

totally unprejudiced mind, a mind, too, that is eager to extend sympathy to all genuine and operative religious belief, there appears nothing wrong, nothing deserving of these ecclesiastical fulminations, in the patient attempts of learned men to place our estimate of the value of the books bound up and known as the Old Testament upon a true basis. The issue between them and the Churchmen, who assert that the present valuation stands in no need of revision, is extremely narrow and simple. The orthodox party make certain claims for the Old Testament as a whole; modern Higher criticism traverses most of those claims, and modestly sets forth its reasoning in full. Orthodoxy, instead of combating the reasoning—a task to the performance of which it appears to be wholly incompetent—merely replies that to suggest doubts at all upon such questions is wicked. It calls upon the national Church of England, and all who adhere to it, not to refute, but to suppress the argument. Does not this strangely and painfully recall the methods for which the Church, not, be it understood, the Christian verities of which it was the guardian, was so long and so dishonourably notorious in the dawn of modern science?

I cannot help thinking that whatever may be said of the Church, the interests of true religion are very ill served by bigoted priests and too zealous disciples, who thus revive slowly dying memories of the *odium theologicum* which was once the distinguishing badge and disgrace of orthodoxy. But it is almost impossible, after reading official and semi-official protests such as those I have named, to resist the conclusion that, had the Church of to-day the same power, she would not hesitate to use it with the same unscrupulousness to suppress free enquiry. Fortunately, the widespread diffusion of the rational spirit has rendered the nation as a whole intolerant of the methods which Mediæval Christianity employed to strangle Truth. Nevertheless, these startling evidences of the extremely thin veneer imposed by the necessities of her modern environment upon the spirit of official orthodoxy are proof enough, were any needed, of the intolerance which still characterises the Hierarchy of that Religion which above all others stands in no need of intolerant aids to acceptance. And this suggests a passing enquiry into the seemingly irreconcilable contradictions between the religion which is to be taught and the practice of the teachers. Separating for a moment

the two easily distinguishable ideas of the Christian religion and the Christian Church, it may well be asked how it happens that the Priests of the latter institution have become so profoundly penetrated by the *odium theologicum*, that in spite of the melancholy examples afforded them in their own past history, they are as ready to display it to-day and in the same degree of virulence as in the so-called dark ages? Why, in other words, are the clergy so perversely opposed to all attempts to investigate upon rational grounds any part of those materials from which they claim to draw their spiritual authority. In respect to a huge majority the answer is easy enough. Their power depends upon the authority of the Scriptures; they are quite incapable of defending the doctrines they teach against rational criticism; they have been brought up in a spirit of docility and blind obedience to authority; they say, in effect, we find these matters easy enough to believe, we have been told that they are true by better and wiser men than ourselves, and we absolutely decline to re-open a discussion of any points which, as far as we are concerned, are taken out of the field of discussion by authority. And that, too, is unfortunately the attitude of mind in which a great majority of Christians accept their Faith, ready made, if I may use a homely expression, and unalterable. In addition to the reasons just hinted at, another and probably the preponderant reason why people, clergy or laymen, professing the Christian Faith, are strongly averse from discussing the grounds upon which it rests, is the feeling that those grounds might be shaken, and that if they were shaken, and the fabric of the Faith consequently, in part at least, imperilled or demolished, they would suffer an immediate and a very sensible loss of comfort and prospective happiness. Destructive criticism, they say, is well enough perhaps for you; but let us suppose that you destroy the groundwork of my Faith, shall I not to that extent be infinitely more miserable? What have you to offer me in its place? Making full allowance for the plausibility of that appeal, I have always felt that it is at bottom but the cry of cowardice. Nor do I set any value on so-called beliefs, which those who hold them or profess to hold them, can neither support by any reasons, nor defend against the simplest attacks. There is no commoner or better verifiable phenomenon than that cowardice is usually accompanied by cruelty. Fear makes even the ordinarily humane man

inhumane while under its influence ; and I have little hesitation in ascribing the persistence and virulence of the *odium theologicum* to this lurking, non-avowed but overshadowing fear. As I said before, and may have to repeat, criticising Truth cannot nor ever does desecrate her. The most that ought to be required is, that where the alleged Truth in question is of a peculiarly solemn and sacred character, criticism should aim at being so expressed as to avoid all avoidable offence in the form of its expression. But while the attitude of the majority towards the Higher Biblical criticism may thus easily and thoroughly be accounted for, even though the explanation is not more than an intelligible explanation, and falls far short of a justification, the case is different with the Heads of Sacerdotalism. These are usually men selected for high abilities, and appointed to offices of responsibility on the understanding that their mental, not less than their moral, equipment will enable them to discharge it efficiently. Their duty as Chiefs of the Church and authoritative expositors of the Religion, of which it is the appointed custodian, is surely to set an example to the rest ; to meet every line of adverse criticism directed against any portion of the groundwork of the Faith, with tolerant, patient examination, and by refuting the arguments and resolving the doubts which they suggest, to re-establish on a firmer basis than before the verities to which they are pledged. Do they do so ? Even when some singularly enlightened Divine does attempt a critical exegesis, is it not always perfectly evident that he starts upon it with his mind made up and that his conclusion is foregone ? Take for instance, such a very simple question as the authenticity and spiritual value of what is known as the Athanasian Creed. I imagine that very few intelligent Churchmen really believe that that extraordinary composition expresses anything in the slightest degree resembling the teachings of Christ. To explain it at all, orthodoxy is driven to the rather poor expedient of glossing its more uncompromising passages ; everyone knows that it had no more to do with Athanasius than it has to do with the authors of the Pandects. Yet, its very name importing a falsehood, and its whole tenor extravagant absurdities out of all harmony with the true Religion of Christ, it is allowed to remain an integral part of the Church service, and is read from the pulpits on days specially consecrated to perpetuating, and intimately associated with, some of the most cardinal events of the

Christian Story. I merely mention this to illustrate the extreme conservatism of the Clerical mind, a conservatism which, indurating with time, opposes itself as savagely and uncompromisingly to attempts at explaining away incongruous and deforming accretions, as to attacks directed against the essence of the Faith itself. The spirit in which Churchmen are educated to accept blindly and unreasoningly every part of the Church's manuals, thirty-nine articles, creeds, canonical books, as of equal infallibility, and themselves as their infallible expositors, is answerable, among other things, for that extraordinary bigotry accompanied by a corresponding impermeability to conviction by means of lay argument, which is at present one of the most deplorable features of the rank and file of the Clergy. Except for the operation of some such cause as I have attempted to outline, it would be incomprehensible that the Hierarchy should have set itself so bitterly against the efforts of German criticism to throw new light on the history and probable nature of the Old Testament. For, did the training of the Church and the average capacity of those who receive it, permit the free play of reason, those who merely take an academic interest in the controversy might well ask why the orthodox party cares, and cares so very much, whether the Higher modern criticism is sound or unsound? The energising efficacy of the Christian Faith appears to me to remain wholly unimpaired and unconcerned by such speculations as whether Abraham was a real patriarch or a solar myth. But the undoubted fact that the authoritative voice of the Church is against me, leads to further enquiry into causes which have led to the Church adopting the Old Testament and insisting upon its sacred and inspired character with the same vehemence as it insists upon the inspiration and truth of the Christian Record. It can, I think, be scarcely denied by any competent and candid man, that if we assume a perfectly unbiassed student being confronted for the first time with the Bible as a whole, his first impression would be one of overwhelming surprise at its remarkable incongruity. There is, in fact, no more similarity between the teachings of the Old and New Testament than between Mahommedanism and Buddhism. And any one who had not been habituated by early training, weighted with ages of inherited tradition, and saturated with what I will call the spirit of the established Church, would naturally wonder how

these two diametrically opposed bodies of ethical teaching came to be fused together into one sacred and authoritative book. Historically, the reason is evident enough. When the Christian faith, as a specialised form of the highest ethics, was young, its devotees sought to support it by such extrinsic proofs as their own ingenuity suggested. They were not then content to rely upon the simple inherent force of the life and its lessons, they wished to show that it was the appointed supersession of other venerable beliefs. Hence, the wild and useless attempts to link together the prophecies, as they are called, of the Old, with their realisation in the New Testament. And by reason of the virtue the Old Testament attracted from this association, it became by degrees an integral part of the Church-built creed as a whole, to ascribe to the whole of the historical as well as the prophetic books of the Old Testament a Divine inspiration. It must be borne in mind that a compilation such as the Bible is obviously and necessarily a purely human work, not, let me admit for the sake of this side argument, the writing of its various parts, but the decision what is and what is not to be deemed canonical, in other words inspired. The uncanonical books came before the selecting committee with precisely the same credentials as many of the books which were accepted. And I emphasise the fact that the selection was made by purely human agency, and necessarily not very enlightened human agency, because it is the ground upon which I claim to be allowed to criticise the results without any irreverence. I take it to be certain that no one can at once seriously and honestly contend that the morality of the Old is the same as, or is even reconcilable with, the morality of the New Testament. The incorporation of the two schemes of morality, then, into one "inspired" volume of which the sole object is not historical but moral teaching is, on the face of it, one of those human blunders which can only be attributable to an imperfect perception of the destinies awaiting the Christian Religion. But it appears to be a dogma of our Church quite as real, though not so boldly avowed, as the dogma of Papal Infallibility, that what has been done and approved by the Church is done for all time and is beyond the reach of reason or reasonable criticism. How utterly untenable that dogma is, if it is sought to apply it universally, is apparent on the face of the history of the

Church. Nor can any impartial student of that history doubt for a moment that the leaders and mouthpieces of the Church from time to time, throughout the stormy period in which it was stereotyping its creeds, were extremely bigoted and fallible men. Let it be supposed that, instead of adopting, the Church had in its infancy rejected the Old Testament record. Can it be believed that a single one of those Divines and ardent laymen who are now clamorously up in arms throughout the length and breadth of England, to defend the Bible in its integrity against a single breath of adverse criticism, would have been at the pains to think, much less argue, that the whole of the Old Testament records were inspired? Thus analysed, the present commotion seems attributable rather to the influence of tradition, of reverence for Church authority, and a determination to defend the Church and its teachings at all hazards against those who are or are supposed to be aiming at its destruction, than to any intelligently reasoned conviction of the truth of the cause the Church has decided to champion. If we could only shake ourselves free of prejudice, and approach the issue in a spirit of perfect impartiality, I think that, whatever the final verdict might be, we should all see that no such vital interests as the Church party declare or imply to be involved in the controversy are really involved in it at all. My position, which I hope is not too startling to allow my opponents to consider it dispassionately, is simply that it does not make the very slightest difference to any part of the Christian faith and teaching which "is essential and valid and efficacious as real religion, whether the Patriarchs were solar or lunar myths, or actual persons. I go further and add that it makes no difference, subject to the same proviso, whether the whole of the Old Testament be retained or relegated, as I for one think it might very profitably be relegated, to the sphere of literature. Indeed, I will go further still, and say that I think it would make a difference, and a difference very favourable to religion in the true sense, if it could find the requisite courage to disencumber itself of so much that now repels the reason and retards the acceptance of its purest ethical teaching. A plain, illustrative application may serve, perhaps, to qualify the indignation with which, I dare say, a great number of religious people will receive the foregoing statement. When so large and unusual a claim as inspiration is made for the whole of a great composite work, the

validity of that claim as a whole must, I think, be appreciated by the degree to which all the parts are capable of sustaining it. If under examination it should appear that two-thirds of those parts, for example, fall demonstrably short of the required standard, the confidence which might otherwise be felt in the validity of the claim, respecting the remaining one-third, is *pro tanto* impaired. Now, admitting, for the sake of argument, that the New Testament comes satisfactorily through the ordeal, can the same be honestly said of the Old Testament? And as the claim in respect to both is in no way, as far as I know, differentiated, does it not necessarily follow that in proportion as we find ourselves compelled to reject the inspiration of the Old, we shall be reluctantly obliged to doubt the inspiration of the New Testament? Whether the necessity of that consequence be or be not overestimated, I think it beyond question that by renouncing so much of the claim as cannot be sustained, the Church would really be strengthening, not weakening, its position. And this, too, without sacrificing a jot or tittle of its essentially valuable teaching. But it may be objected that my argument assumes too much, is, in fact, a *petitio principii*, that common snare of hasty and inaccurate reasoners. I think not; but, to avoid misconception on this point, it may be desirable to digress for a moment and examine very briefly the claims of the Old Testament, to be regarded as inspired. The object of the Higher criticism is thought to be, and probably in some measure is, to invalidate those claims. If, therefore, I take it for granted that the claims are unsustainable, I might perhaps be justly charged with having begged the question. I must, however, point out that, as far as I am yet aware, the Church has made no definite attempt to meet the criticism. What it has done is to denounce the method, to accuse those who enter upon such undertakings of impiety, and to asseverate what, indeed, needed no asseveration, its own unshaken confidence in the inspiration of the Old Testament record. Now what precisely is meant by "inspiration"? I suppose the orthodox Churchman would say that it was the word of God delivered by a human mouthpiece. Very good; let it be assumed that, for popular purposes, that is a sufficient definition. Obviously, so extraordinary a claim, a claim for which there is no warrant in human experience, needs to be supported by the very best and most incontestable evidence. But of what kind? Extrinsic evidence

there can plainly be none. The claim must then be proved by what is called internal and comparative evidence. The first essential is that the revealed matter should be absolutely true. For it is inconceivable that *ex hypothesi* it should be false in even the slightest detail. But truth alone is no guarantee. Many scientific and historical writings are commonly admitted to be true, but no one claims for them on that account that they are inspired. The truth, then, of inspired scriptures must be of such a kind as altogether to transcend the possibility of its having an ordinary human origin. And its quality must be of a kind similarly so sublime as to exclude the like possibility. Do we find these requirements fulfilled in the books of the Old Testament? Is there any one of the pentateuchal books or the historical books which does not bear, on the contrary, on the very face of it, every distinguishing mark of ordinary human composition? Although it is now the fashion to evade difficulties which would otherwise be seen to be at once insuperable by the specious, and I must add, unworthy expedient of attributing a different and figurative meaning to plain language, I find it difficult to believe that an inquirer, at once impartial and honest, would allow his judgment to be so tampered with. Now, not only are the early books of the Old Testament full of erroneous statements, statements which every Churchman knows, as well as I do, to be erroneous, but these statements are in no sense unique or extraordinary. They are of the kind which we should expect to find, and do find, repeated in all quasi-mythologic accounts of primitive men. That the story of Adam and Eve before and after the fall is probably allegorical, may be conceded, without thereby adding an atom to the probability of that account having been inspired. The account of the creation of the world and of organic life is manifestly absurd, and can only be tolerated by again supposing that the record is purely figurative. It would surely be more honest to own at once that the writer shared the common ignorance of his age. If there is anything in the theory of revelation or inspiration, may we not say, without irreverence, that God would surely have revealed something more resembling the truth than anything to be found in the pentateuch? Reviewing the whole Old Testament narrative, stage by stage, it presents exactly those features, semi-mythical, semi-historical, which we should *a priori* expect to find in the records of a half-savage, primitive tribe.

But I would in all seriousness ask any Divine, who is at present outraged by the efforts of modern criticism to put our ideas concerning these records in a truer light, to what he will direct me in the earlier books of the Old Testament as a proof of their inspiration? Is it their sublimity? I reply, unhesitatingly, that it cannot be. The morality of the Old, unlike the morality of the New Testament, is of an extremely questionable kind. It is most emphatically not the morality of Christianity. Episodes are narrated which, while eminently human, are certainly neither elevating nor edifying. Did it need any inspiration to compile these annals? Will their apologist, then, point to their invariable and absolute truthfulness? I have already pointed out that the test tells against, rather than for, the proposed claim. I challenge any member of the Church to prove along the lines suggested that the claim for the inspiration of the Old Testament rests upon any more solid foundation than the *imprimatur* of the early Church. Is that worth anything? I say, without qualification, that upon such a question it is worth nothing.

If it is suggested that the Old Testament is a prelude to the New, and that the value and completeness of the scheme as a whole would be impaired by allowing the Divine inspiration of the Old Testament to be questioned, two answers at once occur: first, that the implied assertion is not necessarily true; second, that even if it were, the consideration is inadequate. The real point is not whether it is or is not expedient to declare that the Old Testament is an inspired collection, but whether, in fact, it proves itself, under the strictest analysis, to be so. Nor is it easy to understand why, if the whole Old Testament were abandoned, the force and efficacious influence of the teaching of the New Testament should be injuriously affected. It has always appeared to me that sentiment plays too large a part in this and all allied questions. And it may well be hinted that sentiment, rather than reason, would be offended by recognising the independence of the New Testament. If, again, the prophecies of the Old, and occasional allusions to them in the New Testament, are brought forward as proofs of Divine inspiration, it may be replied that in respect to a great portion of the Old Testament, its texture is merely historic, not in any true sense prophetic. But where we come upon what profess to be true prophecies, a very superficial examination shows that they are neither of that superhuman nor convincing kind,

which would compel the belief in their supra-natural inspiration. Ingenious commentators, with the very strongest and most openly avowed prepossessions in favour of the divine quality of the early biblical prophecies, have laboured, by means of gloss and every other method of dubious interpretation, to show that the prophecies have been or are on the way to being fulfilled. If the same methods and the same zeal had been applied to such a subject as, for example, the prophecies of Mother Shipton, the results would have been at least as striking. But no one seriously believes nowadays, whatever may have been predicated of contemporary belief, in the inspiration of the numerous Mother Shiptons who have, from time to time, laid claim to inspiration. And to go no further than the central idea which has stimulated the Church's zeal on behalf of the Jewish prophets, the foretelling of a Messiah to come, no one who approaches the question with an open mind can doubt that the Christ was altogether different from the Messianic Saviour expected on the faith of Old Testament prophecy. And the incongruities and anomalies which cluster about all attempts to harmonise the irreconcilable ideas underlying the Jewish anticipations, with what modern Christianity asserts to have been their actual realisation in the person of Christ, would surely stagger any reason that was not obstinately predetermined to a definite conclusion. On the face of them, many Theosophical writings have a far better claim to be considered inspired than the greater part of the Old Testament. I do not say that their authors make any such claim. But looking at the minutely circumstantial descriptions they contain of life upon, and the psychical conditions of what they call the spiritual planes, it is clear that, if these descriptions are true, they are drawn from sources quite beyond the reach of average humanity, are in fact what is usually understood by, inspired. Yet, I am not aware that any orthodox Churchman or pious layman would feel at all aggrieved by the application of the critical method to the writings of Blavatsky or Sinnett. The point in issue being whether their basic propositions are true, that question is first to be considered. If the result of the enquiry should be to satisfy the reason that they are true, the further presumption that they had been supra-naturally communicated would neither be violent nor shocking. But in respect to most of the Old Testament, even if it be allowed that its central

features are true, no presumption at all arises that they are supra-naturally inspired. For their substance is such as might easily be within the compass of any ordinary human chronicler, nor can I think of any reason at all for concluding that the annals of a Semitic tribe, however interesting, required the interposition of Divine aid before they could be compiled. And I here pause to observe that the main object of the Higher criticism, which has so alarmed the orthodox, is to apply to the earlier and narrative books of the Old Testament the stronger light derivable from an enlarged acquaintance with comparative mythology. It has little as yet to say to the merely prophetic and poetic compositions. I have just endeavoured to show that, correctly appreciated, these, and these only, can have any connection, and that a very dubious connection, with the mission of Christ. I suppose that somewhere, vaguely underlying the reverence paid by Christians generally to the Old Testament, is a notion that it exemplifies the supra-natural way in which God selected a petty tribe and protected it, in order that out of that community, and no other, should ultimately arise the Saviour of the human race. Now, apart from the fact that this attachment, if I may so call it, to the Christian faith, is altogether superfluous except for the seemingly superfluous purpose of linking on the Old Testament Scripture to the New, the question ought naturally to arise, is there any sufficient evidence to prove that the Children of Israel ever were, except in their own subjectivity, the objects of peculiar Divine favour and protection? If we analyse any set of Bardic legend, if we examine any traditions of famous dynasties, or the record of any celebrated hero's personal achievements, carrying us back into the remote past, we shall, I am sure, find in every case interspersed among more or less historical facts, a crowd of fictitious and marvellous details. This process of embellishment by drawing upon the supernatural to emphasise and adorn signal human virtues is common to all early annals. Very few students of comparative mythology and ethnology can fail to have been struck by the peculiar features of the great and bloody event commemorated in the Passover. As an illustration of methods by which the modern Higher criticism approaches the solution of these peculiar problems, I shall digress to explain precisely what that event probably was and how the Biblical account is rather a gloss than an exact description of it. Among the Semites

of Western Asia, the King, in a time of national danger, sometimes gave his own son to die as a sacrifice for the people. How widely spread the idea of surrendering the best beloved object as a propitiation to the Deity was, needs little proof. I may refer readers to one of Tennyson's poems on this topic, and it is hardly possible to look anywhere without perceiving the idea reproducing itself in the lower strata of life by which we are to-day surrounded. Philo of Byblus says: "It was an ancient custom in the crisis of great danger that the ruler of a city or nation should give his beloved son to die for the whole people as a ransom offered to avenging demons; and the children thus offered were slain with mystic rites. So Cronus, whom the Phœnicians call Israel, being King of the land, and having an only begotten son Jeond, dressed him in royal robes and sacrificed him upon an altar." So, too, we read that when the King of Moab was sore pressed by the Israelites, he sacrificed his only son as a burnt offering on the wall. Amongst the Semites, generally, the practice was carried to extraordinary lengths, and no longer confined to the eldest or only begotten son. The Carthaginian sacrifices to Baal are matter of common knowledge, and the student hardly needs to be reminded that when Gelo, the tyrant of Syracuse, defeated the Carthaginians in the great battle of Himera, he required as a condition of peace that they should no longer sacrifice their children to Baal. Plutarch tells us that childless people among the Carthaginians bought children from poor parents and slaughtered them as if they were lambs or chickens. Tiberius, 'during his pro-consulate, was so incensed at the inhuman practice that he crucified the priests on the trees beside their temples, yet the practice was still secretly carried on into the lifetime of Tertullian. Among the Canaanites the grisly custom of burning their children in honour of Baal or Moloch was regularly observed. The best representatives of the Hebrews strongly reprobated this horrid custom—"and thou shalt not give any of thy seed to pass through the fire to Moloch." But whatever effect these warnings may have had in the earlier days of Israelitish history, there is abundant evidence to prove that the Hebrews lapsed, or more probably relapsed, into the congenial mire of superstition. (See 2nd Kings, cap. 18.) At Jerusalem there was a regularly appointed place where parents burnt their children, both boys and girls, in honour of Baal or Moloch. It was in the valley of Hinnom just outside the

walls of the city, and bore the name, infamous ever since, of Tophet. The Hebrew prophets and psalmists imply that the Israelites learnt these abominations from contact with the inferior tribes whom they conquered and professed to despise. However that may be, it is at least significant of the prevalence of such customs among the Semites that no sooner were the child-burning Israelites carried off by King Shalmanezzer to Assyria than their place was taken by Babylonian colonists, who practised precisely the same rites. "The Sepharvites burnt their children in the fire to Adrammelech and Annamalech, the gods of Sepharvaim." Micah, the prophet, in a well-known passage, asks: "Shall I give my first-born for my transgressions?" His own noble answer indicates one of the elect spirits, "He hath shewed thee, O man, what is good; and what doth the Lord require of thee, but to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God." But the form of the prophet's question shows plainly upon which of the children the duty of atoning for their father's transgressions was supposed to fall. Thus, it was an ingrained belief among the Israelites that the firstlings of men and animals were consecrated to God. But while the firstlings of all edible animals, that is to say, such animals as the priests were permitted to eat, could not be, the firstlings of all unclean animals, such as, *e.g.*, the ass and man could be, and commonly were, redeemed at the fixed price of five shekels, which, it is hardly necessary to add, were paid to the Levites. Thus, while the theory of redemption overlay it, the fundamental idea remained latent but potentially operative; and this brings me directly to the remarkable tradition told to account for the sanctity of the first-born. Everyone is familiar with the story of the Passover; how, after plaguing the Egyptians in divers ways without attaining the desired result, God resolved upon a drastic measure. At dead of night He would pass through the land killing all the first-born of the Egyptians, both man and beast. But the children of Israel were warned to keep indoors that night and set a mark upon their houses, so that when He passed down the street on his errand of slaughter, God might know them at sight from the houses of Egyptians, and not turn in and massacre the wrong children and animals. The mark was to be the blood of a lamb smeared on the lintel and side posts of the door. It is interesting to pause and reflect how inseparably the leading facts of this singular

tradition have, by the adapting processes of mystic symbolism, been interwoven with the later Christian beliefs. Yet even were the tradition correct, a moment's cool examination of its details reveals its purely human authorship. Is it conceivable that an Omnipotent God needed to stoop to any such very earthly and paltry devices? To begin with the prelude, assuming that, as it may be colloquially put, God had made up his mind to release the captive race and personally lead them to Canaan, what need of the pictorial and imaginative stages of increasing pressure brought by degrees to bear upon the obdurate will of Pharaoh, typified in the plagues? Surely the will of the Deity once formed and directed to so simple an object as influencing a mortal might have done so instantly and effectually. Then observe the crudity of the invention. A badge on the door-post is necessary to guide God, as the white handkerchief was necessary on the awful night of Bartholomew to guide men. In the fable it is assumed that but for such human assistance, He might have fallen into error. Possibly I may be accused here of perverting the true significance of the story. This, it will be said, lay in the faith required of the Israelites, and to be evidenced by the overt act of smearing their doorways with the blood of a lamb. I will not, however, pause longer upon this part of the subject than to reply that that is an obvious gloss on the plain words and meaning of the original tradition. The children of Israel obeyed; the first-born of the Egyptians were slain, the desired end was attained, and the released people were ordered to institute an annual feast in commemoration of the event, while from that day forward God ordained that all the first-born of man and beast among the Israelitish nation should be sacred to him for ever. Now one fact looms clear through the haze of this weird tradition, and that is, a great massacre of first-born. But the puzzle is that the slain firstlings of the tradition were not the firstlings of the Israelites but of the Egyptians, and it becomes exceedingly difficult to suggest a satisfactory reason why the firstlings of all Israelitish flocks should for ever be sacred to God because he once slew the firstlings of the Egyptian flocks, or why Hebrew fathers for all time should have to pay God a ransom for their first-born because he once slew the first-born of the Egyptians. In its extant form, the tradition, while professing to, does not really explain the custom. But if we venture upon a slight

emendation, and adopt the view that on Passover night the firstlings slain were the firstlings of the Israelites, the whole mystery is at once dissipated. We must, in fact, assume that the slaughter of the first-born children was formerly, what the slaughter of the first-born cattle always continued to be, not an isolated butchery but a regular custom. And here I may remind the reader of another Hebrew tradition in which the slaughter of the first-born son is still more clearly indicated. Abraham, we are told, was commanded by God to offer up his first-born son Isaac. In this view the Passover was the occasion when the awful sacrifice was offered. Such nights must have been like the nights called evil on the West Coast of Africa in Dahomey and Ashantee, when the people keep indoors because the executioners are going about the streets, and the heads of human victims are falling in the palace of the King. Seen in the lurid light of superstition or of legend, these were no common executioners who did the dreadful work at the first Passover. The Angel of Death was abroad and in every house that he entered arose the voice of lamentation and weeping. The blood on the lintel and the door-posts was the blood of the first-born child, and when the blood of a lamb came to be substituted, it is a reasonable conjecture that the object was not to appease, but to cheat, the executioner. Seeing the red drops on the door-way he might think that his ghastly work had already been done in that house, and pass on. Summing up the whole matter, Professor Frazer, upon whom I have been drawing for the foregoing outline, says: "In plain words we may surmise that the slaughter was originally done by masked men, like the Mumbo Jumbos and similar figures of West Africa, who went from house to house and were believed by the uninitiated to be the Deity or his divine messengers come in person to carry off the victims. When the leaders had decided to allow the sacrifice of animals instead of children, they would give the people a hint that, if they only killed a lamb and smeared its blood on the door-posts, the bloodthirsty but near-sighted Deity would never know the difference." Let me assume, for the sake of argument, that the explanation summarised above is the true explanation, and the Biblical tradition needs some such reconstruction to make it intelligible and conformable to other facts and phenomena constantly reproducing themselves in the type of tradition, with resultant customs, to which it evidently belongs. May I

ask in what way and to what extent any real Christian verity is touched, lowered, or weakened, by that result? Is any Christian deprived of any comfort, of any energising motive, of any noble and inspiring thought by realising that God did not personally slay the first-born of Egypt, that He did not need the co-operation of the Israelites to prevent Him falling into errors and slaying the wrong first-born, while He was engaged in the massacre? If the same method be applied with the same care and the same honesty to any or all the mystic fables and traditions to be found here and there interspersed among the annals of the Hebrews, I think no candid enquirer can escape the conclusion that all that mythologic or supernatural embroidery is of a very common and ordinary human pattern, I presume that, in its present attitude of mind, the Church would resent the slightest expression of doubt regarding the Biblical account of the deluge, the voyage of the Ark, and the subsequent repopulation of the earth. That that legend is common to almost every system of mythology, must be within the knowledge of all moderately well-educated Churchmen. They do not, I believe, attach the slightest value to the same myth when it finds expression in the Latin poetry. They would be the very first to explain to their children, with a superior smile, that the heathen were very ignorant and very deluded; but when exactly the same display of ignorance and natural credulity is made in what are claimed to be inspired writings, presumptuous critics are anathematised and warned that the Church does not desire the people to be enlightened on these points. Hands off the Bible, is the compendious cry of the Church. But if you ask them why?—what has the Bible which, in their opinion, is absolute truth, to fear at the hands of fallible mortal critics, you will probably find no better answer than that these matters are too sacred to be subjected to processes of reasoning and investigation, which are well enough in other and profaner departments. As though there were anything at all specially sacred in the narrative of the wanderings and doings and slow progress, with many retarding calamities of a small Semitic tribe. But it may be answered, we say, that they cannot be regarded in that light, that they were not a small Semitic tribe, as you contemptuously call them, but the chosen people of God. That is, of course, begging the entire question. There is nothing in the present condition of

the survivors of the Israelitish nation to warrant the conclusion that they are in any sense the chosen people of God ; and so far from that being the view in practice, whatever it might suit the Divines to assert in theory, of our Church, I need hardly remind the reader that it is not so very long ago that the country laid Jews under crushing disabilities. What, then, is the claim ? Why do the Churchmen insist so strenuously and dogmatically on the cardinal necessity of acknowledging that the whole of the Bible, a composite work the various parts of which are of extremely different degrees of merit, is sacred and inspired ? What do they really mean ? Is the Song of Solomon, for example, in any sense entitled to the dignity of being regarded as revelation ? What wicked heresy have the Higher critics been guilty of ? I said before that the main current of the criticism which has excited so much bitter animadversion is at present directed to an examination of the personality of the Patriarchs. Without going into needless particulars, that criticism asserts that it has discovered good grounds for believing that, let us say, Abraham, instead of being an historical individual, is a kind of tribal eponymous hero or even a Sun-Myth. Well, what if he is ? What does it concern the Christian faith, whether the picturesque stories of Joseph, of David and Jonathan, are literally accurate, or are merely symbolical, narratives of fact or impressions of natural forces expressed in terms of human conduct ? If the Higher criticism adduces reasons for believing that the descent of Joseph into the pit really typifies the setting sun, or the succession of the seasons, why need the Church be so disturbed ? Speaking on the subject the other day to a fair specimen of average orthodoxy, the answer was, " Oh, I would not give up my dear, dear patriarchs for anything ! " And the probability is that if the heads of the Church did not emphasise the importance of the conclusions established by the Higher critics, by noisy and illogical condemnation, the rank and file would cherish the beliefs of their childhood, entirely unaffected by lines of reasoning they could not comprehend if they would, and certainly, as a rule, would not if they could. It is a truism that man readily and obstinately believes what he wishes to believe. The average Christian is brought up from infancy to accept the inspiration of the Scriptures as a whole, the literal, absolute truth of every line they contain. The strength and tenacity of associated ideas which lead him to

compound the many dissimilar factors of the composite Bible into one homogeneous, inspired whole, will, in the vast majority of cases, entirely preclude the independent operation of the reason when any appeal from the outside, and presumably hostile, camps of scholarship and criticism is made to it. Adequate consideration of these and allied points would, it appears to me, go far to allay and quiet the rancour and petulance with which the Priesthood resent the advances of scientific research into this sacred enclosure. It is not, I think, because they really fear that the explanation of the Patriarchs upon the hypothesis of lunar and solar myths, would weaken the sanctifying influence of the Christian religion, that they protest so vehemently. Rather, perhaps, because they view any derogation from the plenary authority of the human Church as the final arbiter of all such disputed questions, as constituting a menace, remote, it is true, but yet possible, to their own personal dignity and power. As the Church has ordained, wisely or unwisely, the collocation, in its daily services, of extracts from the Old with extracts from the New Testament, any successful impeachment of the divine character of the former must necessarily, so soon as it is recognised to be successful, not only involve a retreat from positions taken up on the ex-cathedral authority of the Church, but a considerable stultification of those servants of the Church who have unreasonably, though loyally enough, pledged themselves to a blind obedience on their part to the central authority, and to exacting a like blind obedience, to themselves, from their so-called flocks. There must be thousands of clergymen who, if they ever think at all, can hardly fail to be revolted at the details which convention and the orders of the Church make it compulsory upon them to read, as messages from God, to their assembled congregations. But when these very unedifying chronicles of a savage and half-civilised tribe are exposed to rational criticism, and an attempt is made to purge the ritual of the Church of much gross matter, by a demonstration of its quite common and essentially human authorship, Divines seem to be as angry and as aggrieved as though a spirit of atheistic irreverence were darkly machinating against their purest and most sacred mysteries. The underlying idea is, beyond all doubt, that any form of independent thought is necessarily antagonistic to the power of the Church.

Priests, as an organised body, depending for their influence upon the inviolability of mysteries which they and they alone are supposed to be capable of fully expounding and understanding, naturally shrink from any challenge of their own qualifications, or of the impenetrable character of their mysteries. It is very much the same with other similarly constituted bodies, such as lawyers and doctors. Everyone is familiar with the impatient spirit in which medical men attend to lay suggestions, and the lawyers have long since made, in their own temporal interests, the proverb that he who is his own lawyer has a fool for his client. But though the working of the same easily discernible, and, I might add, none too lofty motives, is plain enough under these cognate conditions, the effects are nowhere so conspicuous for unreasonableness and intolerance as among the clergy. And it is precisely the manifestation of this intolerance, and I am inclined to call it silliness, in face of the Higher criticism, which has induced me to suggest one or two reasons for thinking that, if sensibly met, the Christian Religion, in the best sense of the debatable term, has nothing at all to resent or fear from the most critical examination of the Old Testament records. I should like to analyse the psychological constituents of that remarkable and constant emotion, loosely designated, religious; but I fear that it would take me too long and might be deemed, in some measure, irrelevant to the main purpose of this paper. Confining myself, then, to the attitude of orthodoxy towards the Higher Biblical criticism, I will make a few brief observations on Mr. Smith's little pamphlet. With one half of it, the Address to the Christian Endeavour Society, I am not much concerned. For the most part Mr. Smith indulges in purely harmless generalisations, though, in his attempt to enforce the value of national, as distinguishable from personal, religion, he opens the door to some confusion of thought. I do not suppose that he himself is seriously misled, but in his eagerness to defend the Testament against its critics, he is obliged to cast about for some imposing reason. And the reason he finds is that the Old Testament reveals the manner in which God deals with nations, while the New Testament reveals the secrets of a pure personal religion. The distinction is neither true nor useful. If there is any one thing in the world more essentially personal than another, it is religion. And the underlying notion

which Mr. Smith permits himself by implication to endorse, that the national observance of religion entails temporal success and prosperity, while it is a true reflex of the vulgarest and most widely disseminated conceptions of the relation between God and Man, is upon examination so grossly sordid and anthropomorphic, that it could hardly appeal to any nature raised above the levels of savagery and the slums. It is also in diametrical opposition to the significance of the Christian teaching. And just because it is so, because the Church has joined together what the intellect sees, plainly enough, ought to be put asunder, I feel so little sympathy with the official outcry against the Higher criticism. National religion is, in fact, a misleading phrase. It cannot mean, if religion is taken in its true sense, more than the religion of the various units composing a nation, and in that sense, it does not differ qualitatively from personal religion. But if Mr. Smith means the State religion, that is to say, mere formalism which is retained under more or less compulsion, then I reply that is no religion at all. The religion a man professes in order to qualify for office, or observes because in certain official positions he is ordered to do so, is a dead husk, useless and worse than useless, as stereotyping and atrophying what should be the most energising, vivid, and inspiring of all human emotions. This is, I think, so obvious that I need not spend more words on it. How very loose the deductions of even the early prophets, who intensely believed in the personal supervision of national affairs by the Deity, were, is evident enough, when we remember that while they attributed the captivity of Israel to the abominations I have before described, they do not attempt to explain why the Sepharvites, who took their place and practised exactly the same abominations, were allowed to flourish in the fertile land of Canaan. But I think we may safely dismiss as beyond the field of reasonable controversy, the old-world notion that God took a tribe under his protection and rewarded and punished them collectively in the manner of a master rewarding and punishing his class for good or bad conduct. Mr. Smith then makes this significant remark: "Unhappily, another cause has widely sapped belief in the Free and Evangelical churches. I allude to Biblical criticism. This has been carried to such lengths that many have concluded that there is no certitude in the Christian religion. Not only is the Old Testament pulverised by destructive

criticism. . .” Now, surely, Mr. Smith gives away his whole case. In the first place, why is it cause for unhappiness if what was formerly believed to be true, is now shown to be not true, and belief is, therefore, placed upon a more rational and a firmer basis? And if, as Mr. Smith admits without qualification (for what I have omitted to quote relates to the New Testament), the Old Testament has been pulverised by destructive criticism, what is the use of the Church affecting furious indignation? It has only lost what in its ignorance it grossly overvalued; there has only been a re-adjustment in the interests of Truth; and, therefore, in the interests of Religion. For I refuse to believe that any religion which draws upon falsehood, knowing it to be falsehood, can be profited by doing so. But while Mr. Smith makes this damaging and unqualified admission in his address, the whole tenour of his excursus shows that he is desperately anxious to prove that, so far from Higher criticism having pulverised the Old Testament, it is utterly absurd and untrustworthy. His method is, as he himself explains, the ironic. He has followed, *quam longo intervallo*, Pascal and Whately. He supposes critics a thousand years hence examining the evidence about the present Boer War. And with some skill he indicates how, if most contemporary records were lost, by comparing a few fragments, the astute critic might be misled into supposing that the whole account was a myth, and that Krüger and Chamberlain, Rhodes, and other leading characters, were types of tendencies rather than, living men. Now all this may be very clever; it is certainly not very convincing. Let it be supposed that, within the short lapse of 1,000 years, any genuine doubts had arisen on such trivial points, at least no temperate person would object to critics applying the best scientific methods to their solution. That any such exegesis would be required in the case of the narrative of a common and recurring phenomenon, is, of course, in fact absurd. No one thinks of devoting that method of criticism to the examination of avowedly historical events which happened a thousand years ago. We accept the records of Imperial Rome without the slightest difficulty. The reason is so obvious that no one who was not blinded by pre-conceived prejudice could ever have failed to draw the distinction between such ironic refutations of Biblical criticism as Whately’s Napoleon or Mr. Smith’s Boer War, and the subject matter proper of that criticism,

viz., that whereas the former episodes do not make any demands upon faith at all, the latter are replete with accounts of superhuman interposition. A more correct parallel would be the Trojan War, with its machinery of interested and intervening gods and goddesses. But the very first to apply to that beautiful tale the recognised methods of the Higher criticism, are the educated clergy who so bitterly resent the application of the same methods to the folklore and myth of the Old Testament. No one, I believe, is any the worse for realising that Hercules, Zeus, Athene, and all the rest of the gods and goddesses and heroes were human, subjective creations, nor do I understand why any churchman, however orthodox, however pious, should suppose that Christians would be less or worse Christians for being better instructed how to disentangle the false from the true in their sacred scriptures.

F. C. O. BEAMAN.

THE MURDER OF WOMEN.*

(A REPLY TO MR. G. C. WHITWORTH.)

IN the January number of *East & West* there is a well written article, on the Murder of Women, by Mr. Whitworth, which certainly requires consideration, and which, on thinking the subject over, has led me to say something, from the Indian point of view. I am sorry I cannot go entirely with Mr. Whitworth's reasoning, but I cannot help this. The Eastern, or at least the Indian, side of the question has its own ground which differs from the Western view, and I may note that the Law Commissioners who laid down the law on the subject in the Indian Penal Code have wisely left the question in the hands of the judges or the jury, as the case may be, to decide whether a particular cause is sufficient to give provocation or not, by making it a question of fact; they could not do otherwise.

It is certainly gratifying to see, as Mr. Whitworth says, that much attention is being given at present to the difference between the East and West, and to the influence which each exerts upon the other. No doubt, the Indians long neglected the progress of matters temporal by giving preference to spiritual or eternal thoughts, and they have been paying very dearly for the neglect. They lost their independence and were crushed under a foreign yoke, except for temporary relief now and then, long before the coming of the English. Fortunately, the contact with western civilisation has opened the eyes of our people, and it is expected that with the light of western civilisation and the able guidance of Englishmen, Indians especially, and other eastern nations also, will find the way to their regeneration which they have lost for centuries.

The study of Indian philosophy has likewise had some influence on the western mind. It is seen that the great religious works of Indian philosophers have changed the current of thoughts in

* We have admitted this quaint little contribution in spite of its oddities, to show what Hindu feeling on the subject is. The writer has queer notions of the western ideal of marriage.—Ed. *East & West*.

western countries. Not only is the beauty of the Bhagvat Gita, and the Upanishads and other works admired, but some of these are being studied and pondered over. In other matters also it is being perceived that western customs and ideas are not the only good ones. The change in opinion as regards burning *versus* burial, animal *versus* vegetable food, and some such matters, may be cited as instances.

It is wrong to suppose that under the Hindu system all women are treated badly or cruelly. Climatic circumstances and surroundings must not be lost sight of. If we look to the law, the Hindu law enjoins that women should be respected, well fed, and honoured in the family. It is also enjoined that if they are badly treated or insufficiently cared for, not only the wrongdoers, but also their predecessors (parents and forefathers) will have to suffer on that account. Those who know the internal arrangements of Hindu society will bear me out when I say that a good housewife is very much respected and often consulted in family matters. In fact, it is she who manages all the domestic matters. It is true that she does not go to balls, dances or meetings with her husband, nor where there are strangers, like her European sisters; but in marriage and other ceremonies, and in all ceremonial matters or gatherings she takes part; she may converse with relatives and all respectable men; she serves at dinners in her house or at a relative's, and except in *pardanashin* families, she is not always under a veil or confined to her room, as she is supposed to be.

It must be remembered that the great difference between western and eastern, or at least the Hindu ideas, lies in the understanding of the marriage tie; so far the difference is essential. The western citizen is supposed to take his wife as a companion in life, and marriage with him is only a social union; while with the Hindu the institution of marriage is sacred and the ceremony of marriage is thought to create a holy tie during life, and even after that. As declared by the father or donor of the bride, she is given to the bridegroom for the purification of twelve succeeding generations and an equal number of preceding generations of his own. The religious vow which both the contracting parties take before God, the sacred fire, the learned Brahmins and the relatives, means that they will behave kindly towards each other, in matters of religion, as also in secular matters. The husband and wife are considered as one body. It is laid down that if the husband does any good or religious thing, the wife shares the fruit of his good action, but she never shares the consequences of

his bad actions; while the husband is supposed to be partly responsible for her bad actions. According to western notions, adultery is a civil wrong, and can be compounded by money, but according to Hindu law, adultery is a crime and a sin, and taking money for it as compensation or conniving at or permitting the act is considered most heinous and shameful. If the wife goes wrong, not only is the peace of the family disturbed, but also the stamina of the progeny is deteriorated. In fact, any connection outside the legal marriage tie is considered to be shameful and degrading. According to the Hindu theory adultery on the part of the wife is believed to affect the righteous actions of the husband. Under these circumstances, it is no wonder that catching the woman in the act, thereby disturbing his peace of mind and blackening his own and ancestral name, should create profound ill-feeling and cause provocation in the husband's mind.

Even under the English law the husband has the remedy of recovering money in case of seduction or adultery. There, heavy damages are awarded. These damages are nothing less than inflicting punishment on the wrongdoer; otherwise, properly speaking, there can be no actual damage. In some cases, they may even be a gain to the husband by relieving him of expenses on the wife's account, if she is staying with the paramour.

I may say that the feeling of jealousy exists not only among people who are advanced so far as to form a society, and among whom the institution of marriage exists; it is found to exist even among monkeys. These are supposed to have a very strong feeling in that respect. In a gang of female monkeys there remains only one lord, so long as he is strong, and even the rearing of the male issue has to be done very carefully by the mothers, who entrust the young males to the care of the male gangs, for fear of the young ones being destroyed by the lord, through jealousy. The same tendency is found also in the case of some of the domestic animals. It may then be said that the Indian mind is not so soft as to take the greatest possible insult coolly. Mr. Mayne rightly says that "it has always been recognised that there is not a higher provocation than that of finding a man's wife in actual intercourse with a paramour."

Mr. Whitworth makes remarks on certain decisions, but I do not see any good in entering upon the merits of particular cases decided in the courts of law and by competent judges, for the authorities were in a better position to see whether the evidence in those cases sufficiently warranted the conclusion that they were cases

of grave and sudden provocation. The law has made it a question of facts, and we at this distance are not proper persons to say that those judges ought to have held otherwise. All that I wish to say is that when the poor husband feels that he is dishonoured it is but natural that he should be provoked. Coming to the analogy Mr. Whitworth has drawn between the theft of a horse and adultery with a married woman, I must say it appears to be very deceptive. In the first place, the horse has no sense, self-respect or knowledge, which the woman, as a human being, possesses. Then again, if it were rape—the real offence—the analogy might stand; but in the case of adultery the circumstances are quite different. There is a common saying in the Marathi language that to conquer a fortress is easier than to conquer a woman's mind for sinful purposes. If the woman is not willing, the offence is practically impossible. I was, for several years, a first class magistrate and a district magistrate, and my experience is that out of every ten complaints of rape at least half are lodged when the woman finds that her conduct is likely to come to light, or when her relations with her old lover have ceased to exist, or at least there is some unpleasantness between the parties. For inducing a woman to give her consent to evil acts the man alone cannot be held wholly responsible. If the woman is afraid or ashamed to move in the matter or to make proposals, the man is not less so, and if the woman is firm enough she cannot fail to bring him to his senses by either reporting the fact to her husband, her near relations or neighbours, or even to passers-by. The fact is that in two or three out of ten cases of adultery, the woman is the proposer; in more than half she is willing to receive the proposal; and in the rest the man may have to work hard to get her consent. This being the case, the analogy is not fair, and I do not think that the woman can be said to be quite innocent or be treated as a stolen horse. The feelings of the injured husband must be taken into consideration. I may note that for these very plain reasons, from the earliest period, Hindu jurists, Manu and other lawgivers, have held the woman equally responsible and have provided punishment for her also. The provisions of the Penal Code in this respect are in direct opposition to the Hindu feeling, and are regarded as showing undue favour. I may note that in some of the Native States this feeling is respected. His Highness the late Maharaja Khanderao Gaekwad made some provisions of the kind, and His Highness the present Maharaja Saheb has retained the provisions, and that too with the advice of eminent European and native lawyer

Mr. Whitworth says that if the husband finds his wife going wrong he should leave her. That is one view of the matter, but one must remember how difficult it is to prove adultery in law-courts. If he is not able to prove it, she is at liberty to live apart and compel the poor man to labour in order to feed her, in addition to the mortification he suffers. But the suggestion that if he likes he may kill himself is more curious. His death would certainly save him from the feeling of mortification, though it is sinful to commit suicide, and if the police are able to catch him before he has killed himself, he can be dragged to the court to the gratification of the wife and her paramour. Even if he dies, it will be no small gain to the woman and her lover that they get the poor husband's property at their disposal for use and enjoyment.

Though I agree with Mr. Whitworth when he praises the general chastity and obedience of Indian women to their husbands, I cannot help differing from him when he says that in every case of adultery of the woman, there has been contribution by either cruelty or negligence on the part of the husband. It is not possible that the husband or a relative of his can always be with the woman to guard her. Bad company, or curiosity, and many other causes lead men and women astray in every society. Be it remembered that such cases often occur not in good or respectable society, but among people of the lower classes, among whom women have too much liberty to move about either for work, shopping or otherwise. They come in contact with men and get opportunities of talking and joking. Thus, to lay the whole blame on the husband cannot be said to be quite justifiable; in this as well as in the matter of defence that the woman abused the husband, which gave the provocation to kill. In both these matters those who are entrusted with the prosecution can bring circumstantial evidence as to the previous character of the man and the woman, such as that the husband ill-treated her or used to connive at her adultery or even forwardness or immodesty. I am sorry Mr. Whitworth seems to ignore altogether the position of the poor husband. He loses his wife and his savings, and throws himself and his dependents into difficulties. Though he may not be convicted of murder, ten years' imprisonment with hard labour or transportation for life cannot be a matter of joke to the poor wretch. Who knows that he may not die in jail, or how much the sufferings of himself in jail and of his parents and relatives outside, may tell upon his health?

I do not think that the suggestion of suicide by the husband is serious, nor do I mean to defend and thus to encourage the murder of women. All that I say is that the law on this point is as good as it ought to be, and that the matter should be left to the judgment of unbiassed judges and jurors, according to the evidence in each case.

RUGHUNATH MHADEO KELKER.

THE EMPEROR OF INDIA.

(A REPLY TO MR. J. D. B. GRIBBLE.)

TO the May number of *East & West*, Mr. J. D. B. Gribble, a retired member of the Indian Civil Service and the author of an exceedingly interesting and useful work on the early history of the Deccan, has contributed what is undoubtedly a very suggestive article on the Emperor of India. Under this title, he sees a fitting opportunity in the coming coronation of Edward VII. at Delhi, on the 1st January, 1903, for a closer union of British and Native India,* using the word Emperor in the sense of a *chief of a confederation of states of which kings are members*, and instancing France under the Emperor Napoleon I. as a case in point. He further adds that this is the definition of the word in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*. But Mr. Bryce, in his articles on *Empire* and *Emperor* in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, expounds the various uses to which the words have been put; and the utmost that can be conceded to Mr. Gribble on this point is that one of the meanings of the word *Emperor* may be as stated by him. The next few pages will, therefore, be devoted to a consideration of the meanings of the word *Emperor*, and it will be shown that it is highly inappropriate to use the word *Empire* as a confederation of kingdoms. Mr. Bryce says that the title of Emperor in modern times has been taken by usurpers, and the Emperors Augustus, Iturbide, and Maximilian are good instances. Modern usage also applies the term to various semi-civilised potentates, such as the sovereigns of Morocco. As Mr. Bryce remarks, "It can therefore be hardly said that the name *Emperor* has at present any descriptive force such as it had in the Middle Ages,

* The words British and Native India are used to mean the British possessions or provinces and the territories of Native Feudatories of India.

although its associations are chiefly with arbitrary military power, and it is vaguely supposed to imply a sort of precedence over kings."

But, as is pointed out by Mr. Gribble himself, it is desirable to come to a distinct understanding as to the meanings of the words *Empire* and *Emperor*, for it has been truly said that most controversies would end before they were begun, if men would only define the terms which they use in argument. True it is that the word comes from the Latin *Imperator*, being akin to the Greek *Autocraton*; and the word signified, in times of antiquity, the supreme executive power in the state, and may be considered as equivalent to the notion of sovereignty of our time. In this sense, Milton uses the word *Empire* in the following lines:—

. . . over hell extend
His empire and with iron sceptre rule.

But as the Roman Empire arose out of the very weakness of democracy, the headship of the state became focussed on a single person, i.e., the expression was equivalent to the single absolute ruler of a state. The present Russian Empire still attests to this use of the word, and it is impossible to understand how the title of Emperor is inappropriate to the Tsar of all the Russias.

This conception has become tainted with the philosophical idea of a universal state, which idea has steadily held its ground from the earliest times, and though it has never entered the realm of practical politics, the idea can never be dissociated from philosophical discourse, since the roots of the idea are as deep as those of humanity itself. The Middle Ages witnessed the expression of this idea to a degree to which it has never since attained. According to mediæval theory, there was and could be but one Emperor in the world, the direct vicegerent of God, who represented the unity of mankind and of the Christian people on its temporal side, as the Pope did on its spiritual; and, therefore, the Western monarch and the Western writers of those times did not admit in principle, though they sometimes recognised in fact, the title of the Emperor who reigned at Constantinople, and the Easterns in a like manner denied the existence of an Emperor in the West, regarding the heads of the Holy Roman Empire as mere German intruders.

It must not therefore be forgotten that the notion of Empire and Emperor rests on two different ideas, viz., *the absolute power*

in the state, and the possibility of a universal state. These two ideas generally come up strongly before the mind when the words Empire and Emperor are used or heard. The word *Empire*, then, according to the ordinary and most popular significance, denotes the dominion or territory generally larger than kingdoms over which there is a single head or sovereign. It usually follows as a corollary that empires have many feudatory princes, since many empires are formed by the conquest of kingdoms whose chiefs have sunk to the position of subordinate princes, but that it is not of the essence of empires that they should be confederations of kingdoms, needs no emphasis. In the whole review of history, we hardly come across an instance to support the view of an Empire as a confederation of kingdoms. The following definition of an Empire as given in *Webster's Dictionary* may be taken as the most natural :— "The territories under the jurisdiction or dominion of an Emperor, rarely of a king, usually of greater extent than a Kingdom, always comprising a variety in nationality, or the forms of administration in constituent and subordinate portions, as the Austrian Empire, the British Empire." *The Century Dictionary* gives a somewhat more comprehensive definition of an empire as an aggregate of conquered, colonised or confederated states, each "with its own government, subordinate or tributary to that of the Empire as a whole. Such were and are the great historical empires, and in this sense the name is applied appropriately to any large aggregation of separate territories under one monarch, whatever his title may be, as the Assyrian, Babylonian and Persian Empires, British Empire, etc."*

It is suggestive to find a parallel of the notion of emperor in the Sanskrit equivalent *Chakravarti* which is renderable into *Mandaleswara*. In these words we find the notion of a universal state, the words *Chakra* and *Mandala* both meaning the earth ; practically, the terms were applied to those sovereigns whose extent of territories was larger than average kingdoms. It invariably was the case that *Chakravarti* was also *Maharajarahadhis*, i.e., the lord of lords or king of kings, with many *Samantas* or feudatory princes bearing sway under him ; even here the idea of confederation seems to be as far away as ever from the notion of Empire. It may

* The attention of the reader is particularly drawn to the use of the word *aggregate*. It must be noted that the word *confederation* is not used.

be true, as Sir John Seeley says in his *Introduction to Political Science*, that all weak empires and feudalism partake the character of a federation. But the view is regarded as a far-fetched fancy by many present-day politicians and publicists, and, on this account also, it seems very inappropriate to use the word *empire* in the sense of a confederation of kingdoms.

The most famous and the best known of the Empires, I mean the Roman Empire, which existed for over 600 years and the history of whose origin, progress, decline and fall have been made immortal by the writings of Merivale and Gibbon, does not warrant the conception of an empire as a confederation of kingdoms. In fact, in the calculation of the extent of the Roman Empire, the dominions of the allied or subordinate princes were left out, as can be clearly seen from the following quotation from Bury's *Student's Roman Empire*: "It is to be observed that by 'Roman Empire' we mean more than the Romans, in strict speech, meant by *Imperium Romanum*. We mean not only provinces, but the independent allied states and client kingdoms, in which the people were not the subjects of the Roman people and the land was not the property of the Roman state. These federated and associated states were regarded legally as outside the Roman associated *finis*, although the *foedus* or alliance really meant that they were under the sovereignty of Rome, and the continuation of their autonomy depended solely on her will. There was no proper word in Latin to express the geographical circle which included both the direct and indirect subjects. Perhaps the nearest expression was *Orbis terrarum*, 'the world,' which often seems equivalent to 'the Empire.' For the Roman has regarded all territory, which was not either Roman or belonging to some one whose ownership Rome recognised, as the property of no man—outside the world."

If the definition of Empire as a confederation of kingdoms excluded the Roman Empire, it does so no less in the case of the German Empire of to-day. In common usage the words *Imperialism* and *Federalism* are generally regarded as opposed to each other, as for example, when it is said that the twentieth century will witness the existence of states larger than country-states, which may be called *world-states*, and the forms these states will take will be either imperial or federal. This distinction seems to have been

uppermost when J. K. Bluntschli regards the constitution of the German Empire as that of a Federal Empire. Besides, the German Empire is not a confederation of kingdoms; for it is a federation partly of monarchical states and mostly of republican states. The constitution of the German Empire is rather to be considered a very peculiar federation which, as respects the North German members, is a strict one, conceding to them few and unimportant state rights, but as regards the two greatest, Bavaria and Würtemberg, is extremely loose, amounting to a little more than a close offensive and defensive military alliance with a joint foreign policy, a common commercial system, and a common legislation on a few subjects. The German Empire is a distinctly federal rather than a unitary state, and the Emperor is still only its constitutional president. As Emperor he occupies not an hereditary throne, but only an hereditary office. Sovereignty does not reside in him, but in the union of German federal princes and the free cities. He is the chief officer of a great political corporation. Is this the headship of a confederacy of princes?

To a superficial reader, it may appear that at least in the Holy Roman Empire he has found an illustration of an Empire agreeable to the notion of a confederacy of kingdoms. But, as has been already remarked, the Empire was regarded as the temporal form of a theoretically universal dominion, whose spiritual head was the Pope. The struggles between the Empire and the Papacy during the early Middle Ages go far to prove that the headship claimed was no longer tenable. The Frankish Empire, in the view of Edward Jenks, even after the brilliant reign of Charles the Great, fell rapidly to pieces. It had been a sham empire from beginning to end, making pretensions which it could not support, using forms which it did not understand, undertaking duties which it could not perform. The Middle Ages were, besides, essentially feudal; and, as Sir Frederick Pollock remarks, the mediæval system of Europe was not a system of states in the modern or the Greek sense. It was a collection of groups held together, in the first instance, by ties of personal dependence and allegiance, and connected among themselves by personal relations of the same kind on a magnificent scale; lordship and homage from the Emperor down to the humblest feudal tenants were the links in a chain of steel which saved the world from being dissolved into a chaos of jarring fragments. Under such a system,

how could a confederacy of kingdoms exist ? And if so, it might, with equal force, be said that the monarchy was a confederation of baronies, and the barony a confederation of tenancies, and so on. It is only when the term Holy Roman Emperor came in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries to be a badge of union to the one hundred and one petty states of Central Europe, that the term Emperor in that connection may be said in a way to have the meaning Mr. Gribble attaches to it. But there, too, the supposed meaning does not apply : the Emperor was a King employed in building up his *house power* ; he took no interest whatever in the affairs of the Empire, he was anxious to gain for his kingdom the advantages that accrue to it from its ruler being Emperor, and was equally anxious to disavow any responsibility which arose from his position. Concurrent with the decay and dissolution of feudalism about and during the sixteenth century, we find the rise of absolute and national monarchies, for instance, England under the Tudors, Spain under Philip II., and France from the days of Louis IX. on to the days of Louis XV. ; and this spirit is naturally opposed to any headship. It is not meant to show that the Empire did not exist, but that its authority resembled that of an elder brother of a joint family instead of that of the *paterfamilias*. No doubt the Holy Roman Emperor exercised the power of arbitration in matters of international dispute, but in this point too, the power was encroached upon by the Papacy ; and with the growth of international law since the days of Grotius even the last vestiges of this power disappeared.

From the above paragraphs it can clearly be seen that the definition of Empire as a confederation of kingdoms is very inappropriate, and its use in that sense ought to be highly deprecated. The meaning of the word Emperor, as applied to the Emperor of India, as given by Mr. Bryce, is proper and just, and is as follows :—
 “ In the cases of Germany, Austria, and Great Britain in respect of India, it (the word *Emperor*) may perhaps be taken to denote that general overlordship which their sovereigns exercise over minor princes and over their various territories, and which is distinct from their position as sovereign of one or more particular kingdoms, the German Emperor being also the King of Prussia, as the Emperor of Austria is also the King of Hungary, and the Empress of India (now Emperor) Queen (now King) of Great Britain and Ireland.”

II.

Mr. Gribble follows Sir William Lee-Warner, the author of *The Protected Princes of India*, in pointing out the three stages or periods of British policy in its dealings or relations with the Native Princes of India, viz., that of non-intervention or of the ring-fence, that of the subsidiary alliances together with the doctrine of lapse, and that of subordinate union. And Mr. Gribble considers that this period of union should be consummated by a closer union or rather federation. It is advisable to view this federation of India in two aspects, the federation of India with the British Empire, and the federation of India within itself.

It must not be forgotten that India forms a part in that larger entity of the British Empire. The growth of the desire for federation is unique in the world's history, because separation rather than consolidation of the colonies and their mother country has been the rule from the earliest times. The beginning of this spirit is traceable to the third and fourth quarters of the nineteenth century. In a way it may be said that the late Sir John Seeley, the author of the popular *Expansion of England*, the late Mr. Disraeli (Earl of Beaconsfield), the Prime Minister who heralded British Imperialism and Unity, the late Mr. Cecil Rhodes, the Empire Builder in South Africa, and Sir Charles Dilke, the writer of many works on Greater Britain, are the pioneers of this tendency. It is no doubt due to the vast amount of British colonisation during the early years of the reign of Queen Victoria. The Duke of Argyll in his work on *Queen Victoria, her Life and Empire*, says: "Under the sway of our dear mother, He (God) has allowed this nation to be strong in commerce and in colonies. He has blessed it with so manifest an increase that its sons who have gone over-sea, founding nations in other lands, have ever turned to the old country for a model whereon to build the new fortunes, fed by new resources, in regions altogether unknown to the spacious times of Great Elizabeth."

It is the opinion of the Duke of Devonshire that to an exceeding degree, men of all classes have come to think that colonial expansion is an element, if not a necessity, of the continued prosperity of Great Britain, and that both the colonies and the mother country may prosper and flourish more abundantly in union than as separate and independent states. There has been a reaction not against the

economic teaching which gave the Britisher Free Trade, but against the notion that economic laws could solve all the problems of international policy and relations. Experience has shown that other nations are not so ready to trade with the Britisher on equal terms, and that not even the most extended trade relations can ensure their friendship and goodwill. In the Duke's words, "We have learnt that if we and our colonies are to be prosperous, if we are to be respected, if we are to be free, we must be strong, and we find that we can mutually supply each other with the elements of strength."

From whatever grounds, then, whether from considerations of military and naval defence, or from motives of trade benefits, Imperial federation is fast ripening into a political scheme with many advanced statesmen of the present day. The work of the late Imperial Federation League, under the presidencies of Mr. Forster and Lord Rosebery, has contributed not a little in stimulating and popularising the sense of imperial unity all over the Empire. After its dissolution, in 1893, the same honourable cause has been carried on no less successfully by its successor, the Imperial Federation Defence Committee. The two jubilees of the late Queen Victoria, the South African War, the federation of the Australasian colonies in the Australian Commonwealth, and the colonial tour of the Duke of York and Cornwall (now Prince of Wales), have all helped in the same direction powerfully. The proposal made last year by the Colonial Secretary for an Imperial Court of Final Appeal, and the Government's idea of utilising the occasion of the coronation celebrations for a conference with the colonial ministers or their representatives on the matter of contributions for the common defence of the Empire, naval or military, all indicate the same tendency to the ultimate realisation of the Imperial Federation of the British Empire during the twentieth century. Not many days have passed since Mr. Brodrick, the War Secretary, speaking at a Volunteer dinner, said that the war had shown that the dream of colonial federation was a reality; and that the Colonial Premiers' Conference would show how to put colonial enthusiasm on a permanent basis. The establishment of the New Liberal League under Lord Rosebery, as well as the publication of the *Empire Review*, founded, as the name implies, to foster unity and provide a platform for the

discussion of matters concerning the well-being and development of that great estate in which every subject of the King possesses a life-interest, are further steps of the spirit of the age towards closer integration. If the various communities that make up the great population of the British Empire are to reap the full benefit of their grand inheritance, they must march shoulder to shoulder in times of peace just as they have fought side by side on the battle-fields of South Africa.

In whatever form, then, the Imperial Federation of the British Empire may be accomplished, it is of vital importance for India to know whether it will participate or not as a member of that federation, for, after all, India is but a dependency; and Mr. Goldwin Smith, the author of the brilliant works entitled *The United States of America* and *A History of the United Kingdom*, makes the relation of India to the Empire the *crux* of the federation problem. To him, the difficulty presented seems insoluble, chiefly because he believes that it would be impossible for a federation of democratic communities scattered over the globe to hold India, about which they know little as a dependency. He even doubts in his customary vein of pessimism, whether the fate of the Indian Empire is not already sealed by the progress of democracy in Britain. This view is not generally held by the public men of the day, and the opinion is that India's inseparable connection with Great Britain is beneficial to both countries, though the connection is and must continue to be of a subordinate position or dependency on the part of India. Doubtless, much experience would be gained if the administration of the Philippines by the United States of America were to prove successful, and this would answer Mr. Goldwin Smith's question as to the possibility of a federation of democratic communities having a dependency and governing it successfully. As Mr. George Parkin, a Canadian and the author of an interesting and useful volume on "Imperial Federation, the Problem of National Unity," says, the pessimism of Mr. Goldwin Smith is somewhat unnatural. Mr. Parkin shows clearly in the above-named work that there is no insurmountable obstacle to a federal system with the interposition of Britain's control over India. India, it must be noted, is practically a crown colony, and as yet, the United Kingdom has shown no inclination to govern it otherwise than as a crown colony. The same duty, it is

alleged, may be rightly accepted and duly fulfilled by British people as a whole under any system of common government. To accept it, it is said, would create no new national burden or risk, would react no more upon the ordinary political development of the various states than it has upon the United Kingdom.

The view above sketched would lead to the conclusion that India would still remain a dependency, even though the federation of Great Britain and the self-governing colonies could be accomplished at a not distant date. In support of this view further arguments may be adduced, such as, the inhabitants are not of the same race or nationality as the Britisher, and the confederation is intended only for the Britishers, the people of India have not yet obtained a sufficient voice in the administration of the country, the people of India are so heterogeneous in religion, language and habits, and so on.

But on the other hand, it must be remembered that besides paying for its own defence and government, India does a good deal more. It pays the whole expense of the India Office in London, and for the maintenance of Aden and other ports near the mouth of the Red Sea, with their garrisons, although these give protection to other Eastern commerce, and to that of the Australian colonies as well as Indian. India contributes also to the maintenance of a consular establishment in China and of the British Embassy in Persia. The resources and fighting power of India stand to-day as a barrier to guard from danger the enormous British commerce on the Eastern seas, to keep back the most dangerous military power of Europe and Asia from a nearer approach to the English-speaking communities in the South. Nor can it be denied that England derives immense profits from her trade in India, and it is unnecessary to quote statistics to establish the fact, for the fact itself is very well known. The contribution of some 280 thousand pounds *per annum* from the British Exchequer to aid the Indian finances as a result of Lord Welby's Commission dates only from a year or two, and does not materially alter the arguments put forward in the previous sentences. The recent acceptance by the British Exchequer of the geographical apportionment of the Army Charges, communicated by Reuter not many days ago, only emphasises what has been already put forward in this paragraph. The suggestion made by Lord Welby's Commission only a few weeks back regarding England's contribution to the Indian finances in the matter

of the expenditure on the India Office, goes to prove the same thing. On the occasion of the presentation of this year's Budget before the Legislative Council in March, 1902, Lord Curzon showed to the Honourable Members what part India has played and is playing in the Imperial system. "In the picture of what the Empire is, and what it is capable of doing," Lord Curzon said, "India has always in my eyes assumed a predominant place"; and this can be accounted for by India's geographical position, its resources, and the part it has played in history. He then gives instances from the politics of the day of the part India is playing in the imperial system. It was by the loan and prompt despatch of British troops from India that Natal was saved from being over-run by the Boers at the beginning of the South African campaign: it was the holding of Ladysmith that prevented them from sweeping down to the sea. It was an Indian General, commanding native troops from India, that relieved the legations at Peking, and in the absence of European troops elsewhere, it has been by native regiments that the garrisons in China have been supplied. India's services do not stop short at the loan of military resources and men, and India may be regarded as a valuable nursery of public servants in every branch of administration, upon which foreign governments as well as the British Empire show an increasing inclination to indent. The following quotation from Lord Curzon's speech clearly shows India's place in any scheme of the Imperial federation of the British Empire: "We therefore have profited, as well as the Empire, although our profit has been pecuniary, while hers has been moral and material. Our gain has been due to the accident of the prolonged absence of our troops. But the contribution was made independently of any thought or prospects of gain, and was of service to the Empire. By reducing our garrisons, we were content to run a risk—for who knows what may happen on an Asiatic frontier?—but we did it in the interests of the Empire with whose stability our own is bound up. During the past three years it has been the constant duty of the Government of India to balance the Imperial and the Indian aspects of our obligations, and if we have been helpful to the Empire without detriment to the true interests of this country, then, I am sure, there is no one who will not be willing to endure and even to share our responsibility. We do not go upon our knees and supplicate for

favours in return, but we beg that the part played by India in the Imperial system and the services rendered by us in time of trouble may not be forgotten by the British nation, and that they may find in it, when the occasion arises, good grounds for reciprocal generosity and help."

Such, then, is the very brief outline of the Federation of the British Empire and the position India has to occupy in such a federation. Though Mr. Gribble does not touch upon this subject, it has been here considered on account of its importance, and therefore, it ought rightly to take precedence over any scheme of bringing about the closer union of British and Native India. The coming coronation is likewise a fitting opportunity for considering this matter. It cannot be said that this topic is foreign, for it is connected with the Emperor of India, who is also the King of the Britons beyond the seas. After this inquiry with regard to the federation of India with the larger entity of the British Empire, the federation of India within itself, *i.e.*, the federation of the component parts of the Indian Empire, remains to be considered.

The advocacy of the confederation of the Native Princes in India with the Government of India betrays the want of knowledge of the administrative system of India. In a sense, it may be said that India is under a system of *Government by experts*. An English statesman of proved capacity, assisted by a Council of experienced specialists, is placed as Viceroy at the head of affairs. Under him is a trained body of civil servants, selected by a rigid system of examination. To these the general administration of the country is committed. It is not a far-fetched idea that this system resembles that of feudalism in its series of subordination, to which allusion has already been made. Under this system a confederation of the British provinces themselves seems impossible, and much less federation of British and Native India, where the Native States differ in extent and powers, ranking from a petty barony, like the States of Kathiawar, to almost independent kingdoms, like Nepal.

The objects to be attained by a federation, as in the cases of the United States of America and the German Empire, are generally fostering trade benefits, securing the common defence, having a common foreign policy and possessing a common legislation on a few specified subjects of general interest. Now, let us examine

which of these objects are gained by the federation of British and Native India.

As regards legislation. In India there is no representation ; and it is suggestive to note, as was pointed out by Sir Alfred Lyall, that almost all the Asiatic nations are under the absolute dominion or sway of foreign rulers or monarchs. During the Viceroyalty of Lord Lansdowne, the British Parliament passed an Act in 1892, which increased the number of the Members of the Legislative Councils, and introduced a stronger non-official element ; and under that Act, the Local Governments in India worked out a system of electing members to the Legislative Councils. (The Governor-General in Council has the power to make laws, but under certain restrictions which need not be mentioned here.) That the powers of the members of the Legislative Council are limited, is evidenced by the fact that measures affecting the public debt or revenues of India, the religion or religious rites or usages of any class of His Majesty's subjects in India, the discipline or maintenance of the military or naval forces, or the relations of the Government with foreign states, cannot be introduced by any member without the previous sanction of the Governor-General. When this is the case in British India, it is no wonder that many Native States are without any Legislative Councils at all. The idea of a federation without any basis of representation is repugnant to common sense.

Besides, if a federation is desired between British and Native India for legislative purposes, would this not level down the status of Native States and lessen the *Izzat* of the Native Princes, on both of which much stress has been laid by Mr. Gribble himself ?

As regards foreign relations. The British Government is the paramount power to which every Native State is subordinate ; and as such, it exercises exclusive control over the foreign relations of the Native States, assumes a general but limited responsibility for the internal peace of the state, assumes a special responsibility for the safety and welfare of British subjects resident in the state, and requires subordinate co-operation in the task of resisting foreign aggression and maintaining internal order. International Law knows nothing of the Native States, and, as Sir William Lee-Warner notes, the powers of Rulers in the Native States afford a good contrast to those of the sovereign princes of Germany, who, by the Final Act

of the 15th May, 1820, were permitted, under the organisation of the National League, to accredit and receive resident plenipotentiaries for the superintendence of their international relations with non-Germanic powers. But the Rulers of the Native States in the interior of India have not a shred or semblance of contractual authority left to them. Under these circumstances, it will be completely reversing the order of things, if these Native States are to be given a share in the deliberations in foreign matters, and there seems to be no ground to introduce such a sweeping and radical change. On very many occasions the foreign policy of India is dictated from England in response to the general needs of the Empire, and in response to the particular foreign relations of England with Foreign Powers at any particular time, or in response to the exigencies of party politics; and instances of these are not wanting.

As regards defence. Allusion has already been made to this in the above paragraph. What could be done in this direction was begun in the Viceroyalty of Lord Dufferin and has been pursued successfully by later Viceroys—i.e., the Native States contribute for Imperial Service, whether troops, cavalry, artillery, sappers or infantry, or transport, camels, mules, ponies or cattle. But there need be no federation for this purpose. Besides, the Government of India have stipulated with many Native States for their security from attack by foes by means of subsidiary alliances.

As regards trade benefits. Neither can the federation of British and Native India be made on commercial grounds, for in spite of the local *octrois*, India is already a free trader with regard to its several component parts as well as to the foreign nations, except in the case of bounty-fed sugar on which India levies a countervailing duty (and recent legislation has imposed a check upon the Cartels system).

From the above it can be clearly seen that nothing is to be gained by the federation of British and Native India. In truth, history has never solved the problem of federation under a system of pure despotism. India is a despotically governed country, though the despotism is of a beneficent kind. In fact, despotism and federation are opposed to each other. A federation is said to take place when a number of states, hitherto independent of one another, though perhaps dependent on a higher power (e.g., Australian colonies), desire *union*

but not *unity*. They are willing to join together for a greater or less number of purposes, but each of them desires to preserve its individual existence as far as is consistent with common action.

From all that has been said, the conclusion seems irresistible that the federation or closer union of British and Native India is not only inconsistent with the actual and existing facts, but also impossible of attainment so long as the form of Government remains despotic, beneficent though it is. It is to be sincerely desired that the twentieth century may witness the rise and growth of popular institutions, and it is after the growth of such institutions that any scheme of the federation of India within itself can be considered. But it is not meant that the connection of India with the United Kingdom should cease or be withdrawn; it ought to continue, for our prosperity is irrevocably bound up with that of her own, as is evidenced by the following quotation from Sir John Seeley's *Expansion of England*, with which I close this article: "Another thing almost all observers see, and that is, that the experiment must go forward, and that we cannot leave it unfinished if we would. For here too, the great uniting forces of the age are at work, England and India are drawn every year for good or for evil more closely together. Not indeed that disuniting forces might not easily spring up, not that our rule itself may not possibly be calling out forces which may ultimately tend to disruption, nor yet that the Empire is altogether free from the danger of a sudden catastrophe. But for the present we are driven both by necessity and duty to a closer union. Already we should ourselves suffer greatly from disruption, and the longer the union lasts the more important it will become to us. Meanwhile, the same is true in an infinitely greater degree of India itself. The transformation we are making there may cause us some misgivings, but though we may be led conceivably to wish that it had never been begun, nothing could ever convince us that it ought to be broken off in the middle."

NARASINGA RAU PURNAIYA.

LORD ROSEBERY ON NAPOLEON.

LORD ROSEBERY'S recent volume, *Napoleon : the last Phase*, has been received with great curiosity and marked favour by the author's countrymen and by the reading public throughout the world. The nature of the subject and the name of the writer sufficiently account for the curiosity, but the final success must be, we think, exclusively attributed to the peculiar merits of the book. True, it has been observed that the style is very unequal and, after occasional flights to the highest regions of philosophy, lapses unexpectedly into the slang and trivialities of the smoking-room. It has been said, not without justice, that the discussion of documents takes up more space than was necessary and, in more cases than one, spoils the effect of the narrative. Again, it was objected that the writer, after confining himself to the study of Napoleon as a prisoner of the English, was hardly justified in offering, in his last chapter, a judgment on the whole career of his hero. But, in spite of all its faults—it may be, even owing to some of them—the book is an immense advance on Lord Rosebery's first literary achievement, the *Life of Pitt*, published some twenty years ago in the "English Statesmen" series. *Napoleon : the last Phase* is, indeed, one of the most fascinating books which have seen the light during the last ten years; in point of fact, we cannot remember any within the same period, in which original fancy, humour, deep emotions appear so wonderfully blended with dialectical power, accurate information and statesmanship.

The French press received the gift with vague distrust, as though fearful of treachery. *Timeo Danaos et dona ferentes*. But the suspicion vanished on close perusal, and I believe I

am justified in saying that the book is now firmly established among us, as a valuable and permanent contribution to the treasures of Napoleonic literature.

About Lord Rosebery's intentions there cannot be the slightest ambiguity. He desired, beyond doubt, to make clear to the world two propositions. In the first place, he has shown that Napoleon, as a prisoner, was treated by the English with conspicuous lack of tact, feeling and intelligence, accompanied by a disgraceful and occasionally grotesque display of wanton cruelty ; he makes his countrymen feel sorry and ashamed at the bitter remembrance of their behaviour on that memorable occasion ; at the same time, he obstinately maintains that though Europe had not the shadow of a legal right to imprison Napoleon, yet it was its strict duty to keep him under restraint on grounds of expediency and in the superior interests of universal peace. To this theory, we Frenchmen will never agree, but we bow our heads in silence. We cannot be expected to do more, and it may be said that, in a way, Lord Rosebery has carried his point.

But the curious fact about the book is that it should have been written by an English statesman, by a former leader of the Liberal party. This fact gains additional significance from the strange confession made by the author himself in the last chapter. When writing his Napoleon, he was, he tells us, trying to conjure a literary ghost which had haunted him from his youth. From a private letter recently published, we gather that when Lord Dalmeny, as the young Etonian of fifteen was then styled, visited Paris for the first time with one of his tutors, the tomb of the great Emperor under the golden dome of the *Invalides*, was among the thousand attractions of the City of Pleasure, the chief and almost the sole object of his pilgrimage. In after life he never ceased to collect books, documents, works of art connected with the Imperial period, Napoleonic relics of every description, gathered from all sources. In the midst of his manifold political activities, at Spring Gardens, Downing Street or St. Stephen's, the Napoleonic craze never left him for a moment ; and, when at last circumstances afforded him leisure for literary occupation, and important publications on the other side of the Channel shed fresh light on obscure points and suggested new answers to old questions, the long familiar vision condensed itself into a living image. It is this image which now stands before

the public, visible to them, as it has been for so many years to the patient and earnest conjurer.

The book came just at the right time, when the interest in Napoleon was so keenly, so universally revived. When Chateaubriand published *Le génie du Christianisme* shortly before France was reconciled with the Catholic church, when Lamartine wrote *Les Girondins* on the eve of the Revolution of '48, these two great men were the forerunners of two most important events in the national history; they were consciously and wilfully embodying great religious and political movements which stirred all classes of society. The revival of Napoleonism, as made apparent in the constant growth of a special literature, is a symptom of a far wider and more important movement in which France is not alone concerned. As Lord Rosebery himself has justly observed, it could not be interpreted as a change of public opinion in favour of the dynasty which had fallen, thirty-two years ago, in the fatal circle of Sedan. Even during the prosperous days of the Second Empire, the first Napoleon's popularity, strange to say, suffered from his nephew's triumph. A host of republican and liberal writers rose against him, denouncing now the oppressor of popular liberties, now the persecutor of the Pope, the despot, the man of blood, the living idol who thrived on human hecatombs. Men were found to insult his work as a legislator, and even to deny him any real merit as a statesman and as a soldier. Talleyrand had been the author of his foreign policy so long as it was successful; Davout and Massena had won his battles for him. Such was the aim and drift of partisan history under Napoleon the Third, as it was impudently expounded in many volumes, long since swept away by public contempt and buried in oblivion.

By a slow but never ceasing process, the image of the man rose from under the ruins, greater, more striking than ever it had been, even when Beranger was stirring with his songs the depth of the popular soul. Napoleon's statue had twice been hurled from its high pedestal on the "colonne," first, by the royalists in 1815, and, again by the communists in 1871. Twice it had resumed its exalted position. The double fact symbolised the positions successively occupied by the man himself in the people's imagination. We have seen in our own time a second "retour des cendres" in which

all parties seemed to acquiesce and rejoice. What, then, is the meaning of that far-reaching, world-wide movement which does not foreshadow a Bonapartist restoration, but which has, certainly, its proper causes and will have, in due course of time, inevitable consequences in history? It means Imperialism, whether we like it or not. It means that the political creed of the majority—apart from all little sects and congregations—is something akin to Carlyle's Hero Worship, though, in many instances, Carlyle's "Copper Captain" has been mistaken for the true hero.

The writer of this article remembers that when he came to man's estate forty years ago, he was, in common with all his friends, convinced that the days of personal rule had passed away, never to return again, and that modern communities were to be governed henceforth by principles, not by men. In fact, men like Cavour, Gladstone, Cobden, Bright, were only abstractions clothed in human flesh, living embodiments of the great ideals for which young men were ready to fight and die. Gladstone lived long enough to find himself in the midst of a changed world, where he reigned by personal ascendancy, not by virtue of his principles. He was in no way responsible for the new state of things, but he turned it to what he conceived to be sound and patriotic purposes. He played the emperor, unconsciously, it may be, when he forced his Home Rule policy upon his reluctant followers, many of whom considered this political episode the "retreat from Moscow" of the Liberal party.

The growing germs have since ripened into established facts, as a rapid glance at French and English history, during the last twelve years, will make evident to the most superficial observer. It was principles *versus* men, and principles had the worst of it. The glorification of Napoleon—the greatest personal ruler who ever existed—made the tendency still more apparent and condensed it once more into a creed. It was reserved for Lord Rosebery to link together French Imperialism, which is a thing of the past, with British Imperialism, which is a thing of the present, and, may be, of the future. The explicit conclusion of his book is that Napoleon ultimately failed because he lost his intellectual balance, ignored some permanent facts of human nature, too strong for him to overcome, and exceeded the limits of his true capabilities and powers. Above all, he failed because he was only one man, and even if he had died

on the throne, the whole structure of his Empire would have vanished with him. The implicit conclusion is that a nation can do what a man, within the limits of a single life, is unable to achieve ; that Imperialism, carried beyond human possibilities, is madness, but may be, and will be, and must be a lasting and beneficial reality, if restrained within reasonable limits, and if built up by the slow methods and tentative processes, the example of which is set before us by natural evolution. This is the unwritten lesson of the book to the English public. Whether they have understood it, remains to be seen.

AUGUSTIN FILON.

OLD SIGNS AND THEIR ROOT MEANINGS.

(Continued from our last number.)

THERE is another point in connection with the article under notice, and that is the significance of the unutterable syllable "A U M." I cannot say that I have at all understood the real meaning or origin of this monosyllable, though its ineffable and unutterable nature has often been dwelt on; indeed, the religious injunction is that the unregenerate should never pronounce it, but only the regenerate or twice-born, and even of these, only the males. It is impossible to say that any clear light has yet been thrown on the origin of this mysterious monosyllable, or, as may be submitted, this sound, for it is really no syllable at all. Attempts have, of course, been made to explain it, but with the result only to mystify and add to its obscurity, as indeed all attempts at mere rationalising primitive beliefs apart from their foundations, mostly of the earth earthy, end in doing. Your contributor's explanation is the orthodox Hindu explanation, and must be referred to at length to make what follows intelligible. "Now," says your contributor, "the holiest hymn in the whole Veda is the Gayatri, and the holiest symbolic word is A U M. The Gayatri has three aspects ("pad"), and a fourth pad Darshaka. . . . The first aspect is said to mean the three words, the lowest, the middle, and the highest. The second, the three Vidyas, Rik, Yajur and Sama. In the third, the three manifestations of the eldest and the best life : Apana, Vyana and Prana. As to the fourth, the Gayatri is founded upon the fourth Darshaka pad. The meaning of this will become clear if we turn to the four aspects of the symbol "A U M." The first pad "A" is said to be Vishva-Nara, the second "U" Tejasa, the third "M" Prajana; and Gaudapada defines these terms to mean, respectively, he who is all-pervading and cognisant of the objective; he who is cognisant of the subjective; and he who is the mass of all sentiency. The fourth,

according to the Upanishads, is that which is not conscious of the subjective, nor of the objective, nor that which is conscious of both, nor that which is simple consciousness, nor that which is all a mass of sentiency, nor that which is all darkness—it is the negative of all illusion, the one unit ; it is indeed the “Atman.” . . . Being of a deeply religious mind, the Hindu mathematician longed to see Him in all the numbers, and he found that, with the aid of the symbol zero (which, in the form of a dot, was the last part of the written form of Aum) he could preserve the order of nine digits in every succeeding series of ten. He looked upon nine of each set of ten as relative manifestations of God, and on the last figure as the absolute. We may imagine him saying, with child-like but deep feeling, “1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9 are Thy relative manifestations of the first order, my God, and reverently I write Thee 10, using the first figure and the last sacred mark of Aum, or Thou art one without a second, and Thou art the negative of all illusion. 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19 are Thy relative manifestations of the second order, and I reverently write Thee 20 (10×2) in order to bear in mind that I contemplate Thee in the second order.” The same principle would guide him in arranging the rest of the figures.

Now, with all deference to this orthodox Hindu view of the question, it may be asked, what is the foundation of the interpretation given ? The expression “the pad is said to mean” shows that there are not, and never were, any means of verifying the alleged interpretations by reference to any actual words or expressions in the language, of which the letters A U M could be said to be the initials or remnants, and this being so, the mystic syllable, or sound, as I prefer to call it, may be taken to be susceptible of any number of other interpretations, seeing that no definite value in language belongs to the letters in question, so that it was open to the writers of the Upanishads to give to the pads A U M any value they chose and which they thought would fit in with their own theories, be they physical or metaphysical or religio-philosophical. It appears highly probable that the object of the learned Vedic expositors of this mysterious symbol was to bring into harmony with their own system of thought and spiritual attainment a sound which had already somehow been in existence, and which had somehow already enjoyed a religious significance; and if so, the question is, what was that sound?

and what was its real origin? Now it has been seen, from the orthodox interpretation above cited, that the letter A is said to mean Vishva-nara, meaning "he who is all-pervading and cognisant of the objective." Where is there, in this interpretation, the obvious meaning known to every native of India of the component part "Nara"? That is a real word in the language, and it means *the male* and nothing else. The second letter U in the syllable is said to be "he who is conscious of the subjective." Now where, in the name of relevancy, is there anything of the kind in this simple U? It is unknown what it stands for. But if there is any warrant for supposing it to have had reference to anything subjective, would not "subjective" rather mean, "in subjection to the Nara," the male Lord of the Universe (Vishva); in other words, would it not simply mean the female principle? The third letter is said to mean "a mass of all sentiency." Where is the proof of this? And if there is any idea of sentiency involved in it, would it not rather mean the sentiency of the female who, as opposed to the male (the Nara), is really all sentiency itself? Would not "A," the Nara, stand for the male Lord of Creation, and "U" and "M" for the female principle thereof? The first, the principle of Reason, Stability, Permanence, Law, Order; the second, that of the passions and affections, symbolised in "woman," the unstable principle of existence, as it was believed on the lowest plane of thought and ages before the time of the Upanishads, as is believed even to this day? Would not the mystic syllable, therefore, only refer to the opposition of these primordial agencies, the Male and the Female, and might it not be that the origin of the sound is some way connected with the problems of sex? It would be idle at this time of the day to deny that that relation has been the norm, the very matrix of all the conceptions of Creation, of God and His relations to humanity, which later ages have successively evolved.

It will be conceded, I hope, if the syllable or sound has really what it claims to have—the highest antiquity for its origin—that it cannot, at the same time, claim to be the product of the high metaphysical learning and ingenuity of later times. It must partake rather of the essential simplicity and directness of pre-historic human phenomena. If a word or a vocal symbol was desiderated by later mystical thought or religious aspiration, the word or sign would conceivably

have been something more structurally full and self-sufficing than, be it said with the greatest deference, a sound undistinguishable from that which a virile bull might supposably give vent to on an appropriate occasion. This will, of course, point for its origin to a date long anterior to that when man and woman first learnt to clothe their very nakedness.

Let me not be misunderstood. It is not advanced here that at the time the above-cited interpretation was put upon the symbol, all consciousness of its real origin had not probably been lost beyond recall, and that those who put forward the interpretation did not themselves regard the symbol as somehow ineffable in itself, being, as it seems to have been, hoary with age, a time when possibly man and woman were as the beasts of the forest or only a little removed from them, and when they had not arrived at that stage of mental curiosity when the existence of a Supreme Creator and Ruler of the Universe became an object of speculation. Now an idea strikes me, and it is with the greatest hesitation, and with all deference, where deference is due, that I try to give shape to it, rather suggest it by a query: Has it occurred to your learned contributor or to any other learned Hindu gentleman what is the meaning in mythology of the Bull symbolising creative Godhead? There was the expression "the bull of the mother" in the mythology of Egypt, Assyria and China, and there is the picture of a fine pubescent bull in the act of breaking open the "mundane egg." Is this idea or symbol of creation, a full-grown bull bringing his procreative power to bear upon the mundane egg—the female principle—in any way connected with or suggestive of any sound on the part of the bull? If it is, and if the sound in the dawn of society became connected with the act, then would it not follow that as culture succeeded the simplicity of bare nature, there would on the part of the spiritual readers arise the strongest objection to the use of such a sound, really on the ground of its *opprobriousness*, but ostensibly on the ground of its ineffably *sacred* nature? And would not increasing culture try to read into the letters composing the sound the initials of some very sacred word or symbol? The idea will seem at first sight fantastic; but is not there warrant for such interpretations of obscure pristine phenomena in other directions? Is it not a fact that images and symbols of the grossest kind, which had served their purpose in primitive societies,

innocent of that sentiment of shame which characterise them during later ages, but which could not be done away with entirely, owing to the unequal growth of society in its different strata—have not such images and symbols been gradually withdrawn from public gaze and built up in some tabernacle, or shut up in some ark or chest, *really* through a revulsion of refined feeling, but *ostensibly* on the ground of their too sacred character? Amongst others have not certain phallic symbols been so hidden away and withdrawn? Is it not the declared opinion of many that the sacred ark which the Jewish nation in their wanderings carried about as the palladium of their greatness, but which was never opened in the presence of any but the chief Rabbi and kept in the Holy of Holies, really contained symbols ancient enough to be so literal and true to nature as to become opprobrious to later intelligence?

In this connection there is one point which has greatly exercised the present writer, and that is, how came this sacred syllable to be written with the letters "A," "U," "M," remembering that there is no such combination in Sanskrit or any derivative language as would be equivalent to an "*Au*" or "*Aw*." The correct English transliteration of this syllable would simply be "*Om*," and this is the form in which all English travellers in Thibet and the Buddhists and the English translators of Vedic hymns have transliterated the word. It is here contended that "*Om*" represents the real sound, and here the "*m*" is only a semi-sound, so that, in our vernaculars, for instance, the syllable would be represented by *ॐ*, and this is precisely the way in which the sound is written by all the Indian and Thibetan Buddhists. This is also confirmed by the structure and content of the Buddhist formula repeated by their priests as often as practicable, viz., "*Om mani padma*," literally meaning "*Om, the jewel in the lotus*." Now it is well-known what the lotus in the formula means. It is known to have reference to the female principle in creation. "*Mani: Jewel*" in the same formula is significative of that substance which is the source of all animal creation. What can be the meaning of the first word "*Om*" in the above formula? It cannot with justice be separated and wrenched off from its actual context and regarded apart as a highly metaphysico-spiritual exclamation

addressed to Godhead or expressive of its purely spiritual attributes.

I see no reason why a sound, originally connected with the anticipated triumph of mere animal passion on the part of a virile bull should not, in the rudest state of society, come to be also used as expressive of the power and potency, first, of the solar orb in its fructifying action on the earth, and ultimately even of the influence of an abstract Supreme Being, the Creator and Sustainer of the Universe ; and I take it that the exclamations *ॐ* Jai, Ja, Yah, are of the same class as "*Om*," i. e., expressive originally of virile potency, its joy and its triumph. And it is significant, as the student of phallic literature well knows, how the greater number of the hundred names of Jehovah contain suggestions of an origin of a similar nature.

It must always be remembered, in this connection, that *creation* was not originally a problem of how the cosmos originated, but only how man and woman arose, and the original act of creation was no other than the act of conception and birth as human phenomena, and this, having been so, it will be readily conceived why sex-operations from the first dawn of speculation came to have so unique and all-engrossing a significance. The sexual act throughout the whole range of animal life is accompanied by feelings too strong and overmastering not to vent themselves in a sound of joy and triumph, and there can be nothing fantastic or improper if this joy or triumph came to be expressive of the power and potency and the ineffable glory of what later came to be conceived as the Supreme Principle of the universe.

The position, then, is this, assuming, of course, that the hypothesis advanced may possibly be correct. There existed at or about the time the highly-intellectual Indian Aryan took it up for manipulation, either for the purpose of disguising it or for some metaphysical or spiritual purpose, a sound of which no one knew the origin or meaning, but used in connection with the idea of Supreme Godhead. It is admitted that the oldest Aryan authority could only refer to it as of immemorial antiquity, and so inexplicable as to be ascribed to divine revelation itself. Its form was "*Om*" *ॐ* where the dot makes the "*M*" a semi-sound, converting the "*M*" into a mere nasal intonation. Imagine that a vague idea occurred to the learned of the ages that the sound so universally in use might possibly be

what it has been above hypothesised to have been, and imagine further that they thought it their solemn duty to divert the popular mind from any such possible interpretation. How could they have set about it ? Being men of learning and masters of a language which even now has no equal in its elaborate articulations, they would see that the best way of attaining their object would be to split up the "O" of the syllable into its component parts अ (a), ऊ (u or oo) as their own grammar told that अऊ placed together did amount to ओ "O," as for instance in the word सर्वोत्तम (sarvottam) which is only a combination of सर्व (sarva) and उत्तम (uttam). The ओ in the sign would thus be conveniently disposed of. The "M" might remain as part of this AUM ; but what about the "anushvar" or nasal point which serves to make the "M" a semi-sound ? This position evidently, as we learn from your contributor, is shifted to the end of the syllable to signify the metaphysical condition of unknowableness referred to by him, and thus what was the syllable ओम् (Om) stood transmuted into अ॒॒म् Aum ; and I understand that this last is now the correct way of pronouncing the old syllable Om. The Buddhists, however, still adhere to the sound as it ever was and write it ओम्, ओ॒म्, or simply ओ, which last, in its simplicity, is the very sound which the bull utters, and which the bull of the mother might be supposed to have uttered when he opened the mundane egg. Even the later learned exposition cited by your contributor has not got out of the characteristic root ideas connected with the sound of virile potency विश्वनर (Vishvanara) in relation to feminine receptivity, "prakriti," the "mani" in the lotus.

Let not the pious Hindu or Buddhist turn away from the conclusion here suggested ; let him remember, rather, that however high and spiritual later humanity has been, its rootage has been, as it could not but be, in primordial mud. The plant that bears the noblest flower and fruit has still its roots in darkness and in clay, and draws its sustenance from these sources alone. The standing marvel of creation is not that matter and spirit should eternally be at war, but that matter should be the beginning, the source and the very matrix of all that spirit is and becomes ; low and high, the ignoble and the reverse, are but relative terms. The real question always is, what is true ?

It must be borne in mind that the idea of creation, in the sense of the origin of the Earth and the Heavens, could not conceivably have occurred to the earliest human beings for ages upon ages—not until they had advanced to a stage of mental evolution admitting of the comprehension of such a problem. The problem of cosmical creation at the beginning of human society being thus out of the question, the creation spoken of in all religious scriptures of the world could only have been human, that is to say, animal, an act to which man and woman were parties from the very beginning, and the mystery of which obviously formed the first mental problem which they had perforce to tackle. There is nothing far-fetched, however, in supposing that when the problem of cosmical origin first began to engage the human mind, the sound which had heralded the purely animal act was considered in some way indispensable as expressive of the joy and triumph (ॐ, Jah) which should accompany the cosmical creation. In the beginning, it is said, was the Word, and the Word was made Truth—propositions which are still the standing puzzles of theology. A voice has been in all religious scriptures the precursor and announcer of an approaching act as well physiological as cosmical, as well human as divine. The shortest and the simplest sounds or words constitute the best evidence of the pristine simplicity of thought, and polysyllabic words were naturally much later inventions; and among the simplest sounds of the character of the one above discussed are the syllables Jah, yah, and oh! Who can say that those monosyllables are not simply expressive of the joy of an approaching or a completed act in the same manner as the syllable ॐ?

On a question of this kind one feels bound to bring to bear all the evidence that is possible, and one such piece of evidence possibly exists in the scriptures of a sister-race, once ethnologically connected with the Indian Aryans, namely, the ancient Iranians. If the former have their Gayatri or religious song, founded upon the mystic monosyllable, the Parsis have one exactly similar in spirit, and the religious injunctions connected with it, namely, the "*Ahunavar*" or "*Hon-ver*." Here, as in the first mentioned case, the real origin of the word is admittedly lost in the twilight of time, so much so that it is God himself who reveals its inner meaning to Zarathrustra. Unlike the Indo-Aryan exposition,

which would be nothing if not highly metaphysical or mystical, the Iranian exposition is simply ethical; for, if there is one thing, more than another, distinguishing the Indo-Aryan civilisation from the Iranian, it is that while the former is distinguished by extreme subtlety of thought, the latter is so by its extreme lucidity in the way of ethical interpretation and application. In the one case, as in the other, the formula "*Hon-ver*" is in itself self-sufficing, has a tripartite division, and is to be recited metrically, and the spiritual virtues of both are expressed as simply ineffable and inexpressible. Now what is this mysterious word Ahunavar or Hon-ver? This also, like its brother sound OM, is not a derivative from any known anterior word, and there is no literal translation possible. It is open, therefore, to any one to speculate whether, existing amongst a people which was but another branch of the same stock as the Indo-Aryans, the word had not the same origin and the same significance as the symbol above discussed. It looks very much as if such was really the case. Only what was ॐ in the one case is "Hon" ॐ in the other, with the syllable ॠ (ver) added, which nobody knows nor ever knew what to make of. Can any light be thrown upon it from any other quarter? Now we find that in early Egyptian mythology one of the names of the solar god was Un-nepher, and this name really meant the "good opener." Could it be that the Hon in Ahunavar or Hon-ver was the Egyptian "Un," and the completing syllable ver the syllable "pher"? If so, the Hon or Ahún is simply the good—and Hoor is good—possibly an extension of the name does mean good—and the "Ver" would mean the opener, or it may be, which is more probable, that the name "Un-nepher" was imported bodily from Egypt into Iran and assumed the altered form as Ahunavar, Hon-ver, or as disguised. The pher and ver have evident affinity to vir (Latin)—the root of male virility, and it has been shown that *pher* in Pharaoh, the title of early Egyptian kings, only expressed virile power.

It would exceed the limits of this article to go into the details of this matter with the light of the Avesta scriptures, but whoever would turn to them would find ample warrant for the proposition that they contain a great deal of what may distinctly be regarded as connected with physiological birth and cosmic creation, and the

most potent part played therein by the virile male, whether as man or as God. And this brings me to the last point I will notice here, not simply because of the profound human interest that surrounds the problem, but because of the indirect light it tends to throw upon the very question we have discussed above. Had "Hon-ver" anything to do with the symbol A U M ? To those who may care to pursue the subject, a perusal of Homa-yest in the Avesta will not fail to prove of the utmost interest, if not of absolute conclusiveness. This remarkable "Yest," which I consider, speaking from the point of view of homo—man, the gem of Avesta literature, is a dialogue between the Iranian prophet and the Angel Hom, who, it will be seen, is but the spiritual counterpart—the soul, so to say—of the potency which is the foundation in Man of his perpetuity, and in the world of matter, of its fecundity. The interchange in this Yest between the ideas of the juice of the Homa plant and the source of human fertility is too transparent to be missed by the most careless reader, and equally so are the deep truths as regards sexual health and abuse here inculcated. The Yest shows, more than anything in prehistoric remains, to what extent the evils of unrestrained and disordered sexuality had afflicted primitive society, and what religious sanctions were deemed necessary to arrest its impending extirpation through disease and disorder, the result of sexual abuse. It will also be seen with what genuine enthusiasm the author of the Yest expatiates upon virility rightly used in this world, seeing that it is the power and potency of God himself, lent to his loyal creatures on earth for their happiness and His glory. Far from this beautiful Yest containing any suggestions of pruriency, such as is often attributed to early religious utterances, it throughout portrays, in chaste and noble but sufficiently disguised language, the power and the potency which constitute the source of all fruition, whether physiological or terrestrial, culminating, indeed, in the highest spirituality.

Has the "Hom" of Hom-yest, the Hom angel, any relation to Homo (Latin) ? The question, I think, must answer itself. It is nothing but that. The Yest is simply the praise of juvenile uncorrupted youth, the *homme-fait*. Now what may be the source of this fervent praise, I had almost said glorification, of the youthful male at a certain stage of human societies all over the world, (for such

indeed may be taken to be the fact) ; to what early social phenomenon or primitive ideas does this fact point ? What, indeed, is the meaning of "twice-born" which the Indian Aryans of the higher castes assumed, seeing that it was something expressed by that phrase that entitled them to pronounce the awful symbol "*Om*" and to sing the ineffable song of Gayatri ? The expression "twice-born" cannot possibly refer to any supposed transmigration, as, for one thing, that was a much later idea. There is the amplest and the most irrefragable proof that the expression "twice-born" marks the revolution in the state of early thought that established the supremacy of the male over the female cult. In the beginning all human creation could obviously be attributed to the mother and the mother only, for until the custom of marriage arose and definite fatherhood could be established, the mother and her child would necessarily be the only personalities to be considered ; accordingly, those born of the mother merely, that is, born before the mother had a recognised husband, and before, therefore, there could be a father to them, were the children of the mother and the mother only, and, as such, would naturally partake, in the later masculine phase of thought, of all the imperfections of the mere woman, and the souls of those so born would share the same imperfections. They would lack the power of perpetual regeneration such as male potency alone came to be considered as conferring. For ages probably the cult of the mother had existed before that of the father arose and supplanted it, and the two would naturally continue to divide early communities, and their disputes and their wars and consequent migrations would constitute the staple of all early history. Time came when the Fatherites—so to call them—permanently established their supremacy and assumed the name and attributes of virile perfection denied to their opponents, the Motherites, and the assumption of the name "twice-born" was one of these assumptions. In course of time the real meaning of the controversy would be lost except in so far as it was stereotyped in some rite or ceremony, some baptism or investiture significative of the fact of a re-birth—an added birth—a male virile soul added to the early female soul at that turning-point of life when the impubescent child becomes transformed into the pubescent youth, able by

his own power—the gift of God himself—to perpetuate the race. It was thus that immortality was brought into the world, and the author of that immortality was the male youth of sixteen in Aryan India, of fifteen in Iran, and of twenty-one in climes further removed from the zone of warmth so propitious to the advent of youthful virility. This glorious being—for that is the way he is described—is pre-eminently the Homo: the Hom which the Hom-yest celebrates. One has only to turn to the Yest to be satisfied as to this interpretation. In India this Homo is marked off for ever from the mere woman and the mere woman-born. Elsewhere he is “the son of man,” meaning indeed, not that he is not also the son of woman, but that he belongs to the cult in which the father is superior, and in which the Supreme Principle of the Universe is but the Father in Heaven. It is significant in this connection that among the Indo-Aryans, the rite which marked the entrance of the virile youth in the regenerate classes was denied to not merely members of the other castes, socially inferior and discredited, but to the women of the regenerate classes themselves. This marks a distinct—an inferior—social condition in India, as contrasted with the corresponding social stage in Iran, one of the most admirable features of whose social condition and religious faith was the perfect equality, physical, mental and spiritual, of both the sexes, so that the rite of investiture, that is to say, the rite of admission into the class Homo, the partakers and possessors of the Hom juice of reproduction, belonged to all, whether male or female, and the test of the worth of each member of Society did not consist in his being a male rather than a female, but in his or her embodying the purity, corporeal and spiritual, which the Avesta invariably inculcated and which unabused youth always enjoyed.

I think, therefore, the theory advanced as to the probable identity of the juice Hom, the Angel Hom, Homo—Man and the sacred Hindu syllable “AUM” and the sacred Buddhistic symbol “Om” is more than mere speculation, and if the elaborate ingenuity exhibited in doing away with the sound—the phonetic value of this syllable—did not suggest the probability of there being something opprobrious in the sound, and if this probability was not strengthened by the unaccountable occurrence of the anuswar(·) which is part of

the symbol, turning what otherwise would be a word into a mere sound, there would be no occasion to regard the symbol as other than the equivalent of Homo, Hom. *Homo* means the same, the self-same, or the very self, and it requires no further elaboration to show what an individual's very self is.

ARTAXERXES.

CHUNI THE SUTTEE.

A STORY OF HINDU LIFE.

Chapter I.

AN ANCIENT PEDIGREE AND INFANT MATCH-MAKING.

THERE lived in a prosperous town of Gujarat, a high caste family, known as that of the Desai, or, in more reverent language, the Desaiji, of the town. They possessed a large estate, which yielded a yearly income of from forty to fifty thousand rupees during the days when the Moghul Viceroy and the Peishwa's Deputies were, by the power of arms and intrigue, alternately holding the country or contesting mutual rights. In those days the Desaijis were looked upon as common friends by the rivals when they contended for power without either side being able to oust the other. On such occasions they felt the want of mediators in whom either side could confide, and none was more fitted for the position by rank, by virtues, and by influence, than the old Desaiji of the town. The growth of the estate was the reward for political services so rendered.

The prohibition of "Suttee" was then not in force, and, on the death of one of the worthy Desaijis leaving a worthy son behind, the wife of the former chose to ascend the funeral pyre of her lord and had herself immolated as Suttee with his head in her lap. Tradition has it that the fires were not lighted on the pyre by any human hand, but that they began spontaneously to blaze forth and coil round her body, upon her invocation. Modern science may translate the process into its own language as one of self-combustion produced by some occult process of her will-power, though, of course, it is open to it to be sceptical about the historical aspect of the explanation. It is said, also, that the lady's son, having asked for a blessing from the Suttee as she assumed the powers of the Divine Mother, and began to pass away into the Higher Element, heard her voice coming from the flames and replying: "Son, I shall be born again in this world and return as a living Suttee to save thy progeny some future day." The promise is believed to have been fulfilled in these days when Suttee has been abolished and Western ideas have made men raise heretical questions about such traditions. Our story will narrate, however, the life of one whose virtues have made the orthodox part of the Hindu town come to the conclusion that our heroine was the promised Avatar or incarnation of the "Suttee," or, as modern scholars would spell the

word, the "Sati." The sacred interest, which this new career of the old Sati created in the hearts of old and young alike in the town, has been so intense, so profound, and so long-lived, that the most arrogant of our educated youngsters of the new generation has not had the courage to openly deny the fulfilment of the prophecy, far less to scoff at it.

The Sati, who had immolated herself in the physical element of fire, was identified by the people of the town with our heroine who, being born in a family in the neighbourhood of the Desaiji's Haveli or mansion, was married to a scion of that family about sixty years ago, and who sacrificed her worldly career and prospects to save her husband and his estate, and to fulfil thereby the promise made in her previous incarnation. When a mere child of six, she used to play with her future husband who was then of the same age, as their houses stood together and their mothers were friends. These mothers watched the little playmates as they were engaged with other children of the street in sports, such as "Hide-and-seek" or the like, while it was specially observed by the young ladies of the street, who patted them as they played, that Miss Chuni always took side with Master Desaiji whenever any quarrels arose among the children. Old Desaiji's attention was drawn to this circumstance as one day he was returning home from the Collector's kutchery, where of late he had daily to dance attendance in order to settle some important question that had recently been raised in connection with the tenure of his estate. The young ladies were chuckling over the failure of Chuni to outwit and answer another girl who, when worsted in a game, had sought consolation in telling her that Chuni was sure one day to marry Master Desai. "If that were not the case, why should you always side with him?" was the climax of the taunt. "Desai, let us run home and tell your mother how this naughty girl speaks to us," said Chuni to young Desai, and pulled him by his sleeve. The boy was frowning at the insinuation as he followed Chuni docilely. Mrs. Desaiji happened to be near, and in reply to the complaint from the children, simply smiled and asked Chuni, as she kissed her and pressed her to her bosom, "Why, Chuni, would you not like to be my son's wife, when he has grown up? What is wrong in that girl's words?"—and she pressed her again to her bosom. Old Desaiji stood behind her and seemed for a while to lose all interest in the kutchery as he felt some new interest springing up from the incident he had just witnessed.

"Desai-en" (Mrs. Desai), "have you talked to Chuni's mother about this and consulted their horoscopes?" asked Desaiji, as he took the children on either side of him, and they stared at him and Desai-en by turns.

"Yes, she has consulted the astrologer and has consented to the match," said the lady, as she let go her hold of Chuni, who had concealed her face in the folds of Desaiji's muslin coat.

For a moment Chuni drew Master Desai aside, and ran away after whispering in his ear: "We are now vara-vahu! (bridegroom and bride). We must not speak to each other now—you see!" She disappeared from the spot, and, until her marriage, never again opened

her lips to him, never mentioned him by name, felt shy when others mentioned him, and only stole secret looks at the boy, who also seemed to follow her example faithfully. Their formal betrothal took place next week, on a day fixed by the astrologers as auspicious enough to give a starting point for the conjunction of two lives having horoscopes like those of the two children. The Desaiji had a long talk over this matter with the Collector and his wife, who had kindly consented to attend the betrothal ceremony. The Collector had passed many years in Gujarat, and was as familiar with its people and their usages and language as the servants of the Company Bahadur are even now credited with having been before the present Civil Service was established. But his wife was a new arrival in India, and had only just begun taking lessons in the vernacular from a Munshi. The Desaiji had also picked up a few English words, and the party were talking in a mixed language, which we are bound to paraphrase for the sake of simplicity and intelligibility. It must be noted, however, that the parties to that conversation seemed less interested in their language than in the subject of their conversation.

The two children were brought before the distinguished guests, and placed in their laps by the Desai, who requested that they might be blessed by the Saheb and Madam Saheb as Mabap of the little ones. The Saheb responded by smiling and patting them on their backs, when the Desaiji corrected him and said that the patting should be on the heads of the children, as it was this part of the body that was a proper recipient for blessings poured down by elders as by heaven from above. The Saheb at once corrected himself and explained the situation to the lady, who wanted to kiss the girl but was prevented in time by the more experienced Collector who told her that such a kiss from a foreigner was contrary to the Hindu religion. The lady felt content with being permitted to press the child to her heart with a smile.

These courtesies were now and then intercepted by conversations about the usages of the people. The Collector had often to act as interpreter between his wife and the Desaiji, with casual corrections from the latter.

In answer to the lady's inquiry, whether children so betrothed and married loved each other in after life, the Desaiji only smiled and said the question would be better answered by the Desai-en when Madam Saheb would go inside the Purdah. He thought he loved his Desai-en as well as she loved him, but whether she was convinced of the former, whether he was right on the latter point, were matters more within the knowledge of the lady than of himself. He admitted that, as a matter of fact, neither he nor the Desai-en had ever used words like "love" and "my dear" to each other in their talks as the Sahebs did; but that he for one felt no doubt that the two *were* dear to each other and loved each other, though that question had never been raised between them. He ended by observing that the two children before them were betrothed under the auspices of better stars and better friendship to begin with than he and his Desai-en had been in their childhood, that he expected them to have a happier life before them, and

that whether all the children married in this country were, on the whole, more or less happy and loving than those married like the two Sahebs in their own country, was a question which could fairly be answered only after including a column on the subject in the Census returns, and after comparing and balancing the merits and totals of the entries thereunder in both countries.

The Desai seemed very talkative as he poured out his mind at such length, and the Collector was inclined to stop him by some graceful means. The lady by his side, however, felt an amount of interest in the novelty of the subject, and repeatedly encouraged the Desai to go on with his talk. Her husband inwardly thought that the natural loquacity of the sex had something to do with his wife's sympathy with such a tedious talker as the old Desai had proved himself to be. But he felt there was some compensation for the boredom in the frequent attempts of the Desai to be humorous in an oriental way, which he quite understood and relished. When this one subject was over, the Collector's lady felt more curious on another subject, and asked whether the prophecies of horoscopes could command any faith among such intelligent people as the Desaiji was, and whether a man like him could attach any real weight to such superstitions as to rely upon them in laying the foundations of the life-long unions of such dear and pretty children as they had before them at the moment. The Collector felt a misgiving that the Desaiji's feelings would be hurt by the lady's questioning his faith in a science so implicitly believed in by their host, and he also feared they were again drifting into a still longer talk. But they had already drifted far enough towards a new subject before he could rack his brains to find out some way to escape the situation. Desaiji, after a pause, somewhat seriously answered: "Madam Saheb, it is only when our astrologers commit mistakes that their prophecies prove untrue. But our family astrologer has never uttered a syllable that has not been verified. If you can get such a one to consult, the promises of the stars, prove more faithful than do the records of Collector Saheb to the guarantees which the Moghul and Peishvai Subahs and even the officers of Company Bahadur have so often given to my family during the last one hundred years at least. The difficulties into which the Saheb's kutchery has involved me, as in a spider's web, were long since anticipated by my Joshi (astrologer), and he has also told me how my plucky little daughter-in-law here will release us from them when she is old enough. I shall, if desired, send him to the bungalow to cast a most correct horoscope for the Madam Saheb."

This was agreed to. But the lady was tempted to ask if the Desaiji did not feel angry with the Saheb for bringing him into his difficulties.

"No," replied Desaiji, "his intelligence is as much subject to the action of the stars as his work is subject to the orders of the Sirkar. It were foolish in a man to find fault with another for putting his head into the noose with which the stars entangle him."

The Collector felt at last a sense of gratefulness to the stars that saved him from the anger of the old man who, if he had thought

fit, could have brought much *khut-put* into his office. Government had laid down strict rules for investigation into titles of estates like those of the *Desaiji*, and, much against his will, the Collector had to go into questions which, under general impressions, he would have considered himself sufficiently justified in deciding in his favour. Everybody groped in the dark to find out what was what, as the estates of ancient landholders had been the subject of frequent correspondence and diversified opinions as to the exact nature of their technical status, while the general impressions of people on the spot could not be abruptly displaced by conclusions drawn from papers so heterogeneous. The poor old *Desaiji*, with all his shrewdness and with all his familiarity with his own records, could not be equal to the inquisitorial tests of official scepticism based upon papers which he did not possess and could not decipher. The Collector, therefore, while fully sympathising in his difficulties, and yet feeling unable to help him, felt greatly relieved by his belief in the stars which preserved a friendship at home between people who were almost at war in the office. While he pondered over this phase of the *Desai*'s superstition, he could not help questioning him with a smile, why, in spite of the stars, the *Desai* persisted in worrying himself and him—the Collector—about his case.

The *Desai*, without a pause, quietly replied: "As the Colonel *Saheb* guides the regiment, and yet the work and capacity of the members of his regiment guide him, too, the movements of the stars, while leading mankind to follow their wishes, are also influenced by the conduct of men. '*Parama'tma*' (the Universal soul) is the common Commander *Saheb* of both stars and man, and wishes man to act in order that he may not be as inert as clay or stone, and gives power for evil and for good to the stars in order that man may not feel proud and insolent or despondent and cowardly."

A servant entered the hall at this moment, bowed to host and guests, and informed the party in simple Gujarati that the *nautch* was about to begin, and that *Bai-Saheb* (the *Desai-en*) was ready in the *Parsa'l*—inner apartment—to welcome the *Madam Saheb*. *Desaiji* took the Collector to the *Nautch Mandap* and seated him on a chair while the whole of the native party were squatting on a large and richly decorated carpet. He then left him and accompanied the *Madam Saheb* into the *Parsa'l*.

G. M. TRIPATHI.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

The Hindu is dominated by a consciousness of the supernatural. He does not even clip the hair of his head without thinking of Him who alone can make a single hair white or black. Would he become a king, and yet not offer homage to the King of kings ? There are two sacrifices connected with the assumption of royalty, described in the earlier literature of India—the Vajapeya and Rajasuya. Notwithstanding a remark in the Sata-patha Brahmana, which may be interpreted to the contrary, the Vajapeya was the less important of the two rituals : it was simpler, it could be performed not merely by a Kshatriya, but also by a Brahman who had risen to the dignity of a royal chaplain, and perhaps it was not prohibited even to a tributary prince. The Rajasuya was an imperial ritual, and was prescribed for those Kshatriya rulers who owed no allegiance to any higher earthly power. It was a gorgeous ceremonial—or rather a succession of ceremonials—which extended over a period of not less than two years. The most interesting secular feature of the Vajapeya—or “cup of strength”—as performed by a Kshatriya, was a chariot-race, in which seventeen chariots took part. The goal was fixed at a distance of seventeen times the range of an arrow shot by the sacrificer, from the altar. The race over, in which the sacrificer was, no doubt, bound to win, the king summoned his wife to his side, and climbed up the top of the sacrificial post by means of a ladder. It was to be seventeen cubits high, and from that elevated position, the chief paid homage to mother Earth, and received the homage of his subjects who, in acknowledgment of his authority, threw up to him salt wrapped in fig-leaves. It was a common idea, which finds

frequent expression in the Satapatha, that the people are the food of their ruler : salt symbolised food, and the throwing up of it by the people below was an acknowledgment on their part that they were the subjects of the Kshatriya above. Dismounting, he stepped on a gold coin placed on a goat-skin, and took his seat on a throne of *udumbara* wood, on which a goat-skin was spread, and received the homage of the assembled grandees. For the secular rejoicings and interchange of civilities that must have followed, we must turn from the ritualistic to the epic and Puranic literature. The dancing girl was certainly there, but there is some doubt about rose-water and *pan* until we come to the Muhammadan times.

A sufficiently elaborate account of the Rajasuya sacrifice, as described chiefly in the Black Yajur and in the Aitareya Brahmana, appeared from the pen of the late Dr. Rajendralala Mitra, in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, shortly before the Delhi assemblage of 1878. Different Vedic schools follow different systems of ritual, and the ceremonial described in the Satapatha, since translated in Max Müller's series, differs slightly from that described in what scholars would perhaps call the two earlier works. The *Rajasuyika* division of the Sabha Parva, in the Mahabharata, gives an idea of the pomp and circumstance which attended the great imperial sacrifice. The principal part of the ritual was the "sprinkling ceremony," which took place one year after the commencement of operations, or the installation of the king in the sacrifice. During that interval, invitations would be sent to tributary and other princes, to Kshatriyas, Vaisyas and respectable Sudras. Brahmans, invited and otherwise, would pour in from all quarters, and the innumerable guests had to be received and accommodated in tents and houses, and provided, among other comforts, with "thousands of kine, beds, gold coins, and—damsels !" The dining halls of the Brahmans resounded with Give, Give, Eat, Eat, and in the leisure hours, the learned disputants "made the weaker arguments appear stronger, and the stronger appear weaker, on the authority of the Shastras !" Preparatory to the sprinkling ceremony, the king, on successive days, performed certain sacrifices in, or with the materials brought from, the houses of the eleven gems of the kingdom. These are variously enumerated, but among them were the royal chaplain, the leader of the Kshatriya community, the queen, the

commander of the army, the headman of the village—who perhaps represented the agricultural community—the collector of taxes, the superintendent of the seraglio, and the superintendent of the gambling department. According to the Satapatha, the king went on the last day to the house of his sonless or deserted wife, and at the close of the sacrifice, pronounced a sentence of exile on the unfortunate lady. She, however, took refuge in a Brahman's house which, like a British ship at the present day, was for many purposes beyond the jurisdiction of the Kshatriya king. On the sprinkling day, visitors of the three twice-born castes crowded into the inner enclosure to witness the imposing ceremony. Agni, fed with streams of ghee and with incense, leapt up gloriously and rent the air with his forked tongues—an impressive sight, over which the Vedic bard often waxes devoutly eloquent; the milk-white smoke folded within its curls the mysterious essence of the burnt offerings, and mounted up to the heavens to deliver it to the gods; the sonorous chant of the trained singer of the Veda took sole possession of the ears of the delighted visitors, and proved to them that there was only one music worth listening to in the world, the music of the Sama; yak-tails waved gracefully in every nook and corner, to keep the assembled guests cool, and every eye was bent, with submissive admiration, on the privileged performer of the Yajna. After certain preliminary offerings, the king appeared in a special bathing dress, which consisted of an inner garment for the loins, steeped in clarified butter, a red blanket for the body, an outer wrapper, and a turban. He took a bow and three arrows, stood on a tiger-skin, and kicked away a piece of copper with one foot—or flung it into the mouth of a eunuch—and a piece of lead with the other, indicating thereby his freedom from want of virility and of firmness of purpose. Then he stepped on a gold plate, and with uplifted arms, held another minutely perforated plate of gold over his head, and was ready to receive the shower of the consecrated liquid. This liquid consisted of water of different kinds brought from different places—such as the water of the Sarasvati, sea-water, rain-water, and dew-water—mixed with honey and certain products of the cow. Three small vessels were filled with this mixture; a Brahman priest, a Kshatriya, and a Vaisya, each taking a vessel, stood on three sides of the king, and poured the contents on the golden plate over his

head ; and as the priests chanted the appropriate hymns, the liquid descended on the body of the royal sacrificer in a gentle shower. The drops remaining on his person were rubbed over it with the horn of a black antelope, and the king then changed his dress. The symbolism of sprinkling admits of an easy explanation. The idea undoubtedly is that imperial greatness—or as the *mantras* recited on the occasion put it, the glory of Soma, the glow of Agni, the splendour of Surya and the energy of Indra—descend upon the king from on high and cover him with glory. The Holy Ghost *descended* in the form of a dove : the mantle of the prophet *fell*. Honours are *showered* upon a man, and he is *bathed* in glory. Act out your metaphor, and you invent a rite. The sprinkling over, a number of cows were brought into the enclosure. The king, mounting a chariot, drove up to them, touched the foremost cow with the tip of his bow, and a sham fight ensued, in which of course the king was victorious. He then returned to his seat, and gave away the cows to the Brahmins. This may be emblematic of a successful cattle-lifting raid, or of a career of conquest generally. The victorious hero then put on shoes of boar-skin, advanced three steps on the tiger-skin—even as Vishnu covered the expanse of the heavens, or the whole universe, with three strides—and seated himself on a throne of *khadira* wood, “ perforated and bound with thongs, even as that of the Bharatas.” When all eyes were fixed on the exalted personage, the priest announced : “ He hath sat down, the upholder of the sacred law,” and the announcement was received with loud acclamations. One act more, and the sprinkling ceremony was over. The emperor had seated himself on the throne, but would his reign be prosperous ? With the tip of a wooden sword, the anxious inquirer drew the figure of a gaming board on the floor, and a golden die was cast. The number of marks on the up-turned face settled the future, and here ended the ceremony. It was no doubt followed by the offering of homage and of presents, by dinner and dance, sports and amusements. The four-fold army was present, and there must have been military manœuvres. One of the pictures in the Ajanta caves represents a coronation scene, and we may fairly assume that the enthronement of a Yudhisthira or a Janamejaya was not very different from what the artist has striven to paint in the picture. Most of the guests must have departed at this stage, but the Rajasuya dragged on its length

for another twelvemonth, and several minor sacrifices, not of much secular interest, had to be performed. The last of the sacrifices was for the purpose of getting over the effects of excessive Soma drinking!

Such was the "imperial baptism" of early times. But times change even in India. For centuries, the *Rajasuya* and the *Vajapeya* have alike fallen into desuetude, the one because it was too grand, the other because it was not grand enough. But although the whole *Rajasuya*, with its "great sprinkling" or *Mahabhisheka*, is not performed now-a-days, the ceremony of sprinkling, or *Abhisheka*, has survived, and may be performed by any king—not necessarily one who has made a *digvijaya* or universal conquest. The *Rajatarangini* records that *Matrigupta*, who had been appointed by *Vikramaditya* to rule Kashmir, "received the bath of inauguration from the assembled high officers of the state. The water of the *abhisheka*, which flowed down with a loud sound from his chest, broad like the slope of the *Vindhya*, resembled the stream of the *Reva*." Since the days of the *Brahmanas* and the epics, new gods and new customs have sprung into existence. Tod, in his "*Annals of Rajasthan*," describes how the leading citizens of a Rajput state paid homage to their newly installed chief by putting a *tilac* on his forehead. Offerings in temples are made now-a-days, though no temples existed when the *Aitareya* was composed.

It would be interesting to learn what, if any, kind of coronation ritual has been elaborated by the puritanic Moslem. One can gather from secular histories that before ascending the throne, an emperor said his prayers. *Aurangzeb* did so. Of *Jehangir* it is stated that on the coronation day, "he held a court, and after going through all the usual ordinances, left his own palace in great pomp and state, and entered the fort, scattering gold and silver. He ascended the throne of the empire and began to re-arrange the withered world." A crown, worth a lakh of *tanacs*, was placed on the head of *Firoz Shah*, and he was invested with royal garments. But the nature of the prayers and the ordinances is not clear.

Famine in India is perhaps as old as agriculture, and famine relief, of a sort, as old as good Government. "Are tanks and lakes dug all over thy kingdom at proper distances, so that agriculture in thy realm may not be entirely dependent on the

showers of heaven ? Grantest thou, with kindness, loans of seed-grain unto the tillers, taking only a fourth in excess of every measure in the hundred ?" In these interesting questions, which Narada put to Yudhisthira hundreds of years ago, we discover the anxious solicitude with which the dependent lot of the tiller of the soil has always had to be watched in this country. To organise famine relief on an extensive scale, as the British Government has learnt to do, requires, however, something more than mere compassion and goodwill. The East India Company was too busy in the building up of Empire to construct anything like a system of saving life on a large scale, though the opportunity was afforded to it by no fewer than twelve famines and four severe scarcities which visited its dominions from the time of Hastings to that of Canning. The Government of India under the Crown had to witness five more famines, attended with no small loss of life, and to order several commissions of inquiry, before it could evolve a real workable Famine Code which has since had to be amended in the light of subsequent experience. It is not surprising, therefore, that when a Native State, like Baroda, found itself in the grip of a famine towards the end of 1899—for the first time, it would appear, within the memory of living men—the State records were searched in vain for anything like useful guidance towards facing the calamity. His Highness the Gaekwar, with the help of his officers, improvised a Famine Code ; but a Code is not mastered and translated into practice by subordinate officers with anything like the rapidity with which it may be evolved at head-quarters. Confusion and avoidable suffering must necessarily have been the result at the outset. If worse did not happen, it was because, at an early stage of the distress, His Highness made personal tours through the affected areas, heard the complaints of the people from their own lips, discussed them with the officers on the spot, and passed orders without that circumlocution which not seldom solves important questions too late or leaves them to solve themselves. With the Gaekwar, administration is a science, and the record which His Highness has preserved in the shape of "Notes on the Famine Tour" reveals an enthusiasm in the study of that science, which, if it had been more general among Native Princes, would have saved Lord Curzon the trouble and the odium of certain masterful

utterances and minutes that startled the Native States two years ago. Now that the famine of 1899-1900 is past, there is no need to discuss the particular shortcomings of famine administration which at the time were brought to the notice of His Highness, and were animadverted upon by the public at large. The Gaekwar lost no time in spotting the defects. His sympathy with the sufferers assured him success quite as much as did his vigilant supervision of the officials in charge of famine relief work. Should Baroda have to face such a calamity again, the lessons of the past would no doubt be remembered and applied with advantage. But there are certain aspects of Native rule and the position of Native Rulers, which, in this connection, seem to us to be of permanent interest.

Relief to the famine-stricken, be it in the shape of feeding in poor-houses, of wages to those who will, and doles to those who will not, come to the relief-works, or of *takavi* advances for tank-digging and so on, is a very costly undertaking, and a poor State may be utterly prostrated by it. The British Government borrows and can afford to borrow : Native statesmanship has a vague horror of indebtedness. The British Government may, as a piece of kindness, itself offer a loan, as no one will lend to a Native State on easier terms. If the loan is repaid within the stipulated period, without recourse to additional taxation, well and good : but if not ? If additional taxation create trouble among the subjects, and a riot break out, British troops may have to be called in to suppress it, as was done at Okhamandal in Baroda, and they may have to be supported at considerable expense for a long time. If the debt is not wiped out, when required, will not the debtor be morally bound to hand over a slice of his territory to the creditor, and obtain a discharge ? Vain fears, perhaps, but who can tell what possibilities may not enter into the calculations of our Native Princes ? We have no doubt that such apprehensions ought to cease when thousands of lives are in danger and cannot be saved without extraneous help. But it may be granted that what a rich and strong Government can do without hesitation, a Native State may not be able to undertake with a light heart. Limited resources also come in the way of liberal remissions. Transit dues, port dues, and salt revenue are non-existent in Baroda, and traffic and trade are in their infancy. Agricultural revenue being the only important source of income,

how much of it should the State sacrifice when expenditure is on the increase ? The policy to which the Gaekwar's Government was driven seems to have been to remit what there was no possibility of collecting—a policy which, as was clear from the last Financial Statement of the Government of India, is sometimes followed in British India also. Never is the lack of power and prestige more keenly felt than in distress. His Highness was advised that the people would refuse to pay for the use of water, if a large reservoir was dug at Asoj, and it is bitterly complained that “in Native States, the theory of consent on the part of the subjects is at times carried so far that Government is hampered in its desire to undertake large and useful works.” But why should people refuse to pay for an obvious advantage, if it be a real advantage ? Are lawyers and schoolmasters filling the minds of the ryots with exaggerated notions of their own rights ? The tide of criticism is rising in Native States, as it is in British India, and although the Gaekwar is a great friend of education, he makes no secret of his distrust of the “self-styled representatives of the people who have picked up the declamation, the harangue, the notions, perhaps the sentiments of the West.” If we look far into the future, difficulties of a new kind seem to present themselves. In a small, enlightened State, when roads and railways, drainage schemes and irrigation projects, are being rapidly pushed in ordinary times, a stage may be reached when it will become extremely difficult to find useful employment for famine labour. And this date cannot be as distant as when the coal supply of the world is exhausted, or when the oxygen of the atmosphere is all used up. We cannot, therefore, suppose that the Gaekwar's apprehensions that the problem of famine relief will grow harder and harder as years roll on are altogether baseless. The salvation of the country, when it does not come from the heavens—the direction in which people generally look for it—must come from somewhere else. The Maharaja Gaekwar is desirous of giving every possible encouragement to manufactures, and if there be enough of enterprise among his subjects, the problem of famine relief may be solved in a way which will spare royalty the trouble of a tour in the grilling sun, and the pain of beholding living skeletons that can hardly lift up their hands to the Sirkar.

CURRENT EVENTS.

ONE can only imagine the confusion and utter dismay into which thousands that were riding on a mighty wave of enthusiasm, in London, must have been plunged by the awfully sudden announcement that the King, whose coronation they were so eagerly expecting to witness, was dangerously ill, and those that had come to rejoice had to remain tremblingly to pray for Divine intercession. But if an abscess can disappoint an empire, a sentence of six words can wipe out the disappointment and melt into sympathy the hearts of millions. "Will my people ever forgive me?" No sentence more pathetic was ever uttered by human lips in similar circumstances than the one which escaped the lips of King Edward VII. when he recovered from the effects of chloroform. Forgive His Majesty? Why, the people will cheerfully sacrifice twice as much as before to attend again the coronation of a sovereign whose one great care, in the midst of evident, though patiently concealed suffering, was that they should *not* be disappointed. May His Majesty recover soon, and be crowned with redoubled enthusiasm on the part of his subjects!



An Indian statesman was so much struck by the faithfulness of a cartoon which represented a lawyer as milking a cow, while the litigants were tugging away at the horns of the animal on the one side, and the tail on the other, that he put it up in a conspicuous place in his drawing-room. The Indian Government is to be congratulated on finding itself in the happy position of the lawyer in the cartoon, by the competition between the sugar refiners of Germany and Austro-Hungary on the one hand, and those of India, and perhaps of some other parts of the British dominions, on the other. The Sugar Bill, which was passed last month, to enhance the countervailing duty on German and Austro-Hungarian sugar, will, let us hope, enable the Indian refiner not only to keep his head above water, but also to expand and improve his industry. But a Chinaman, for example, about whose notions of justice we hear so many

curious stories, may well ask why the Government should not hand over to the Indian manufacturer, in some indirect form, no doubt, a portion of the duty levied on foreign bounty-fed sugar, so that not only may the Indian industry be saved, but the consumer may also have a better chance of profiting by the competition. Refined sugar, however, is an article of luxury, which will be none the less sweet for the additional tax, and though the consumer will consider himself entitled in the first instance to benefit by the competition, he will hardly grudge the Government the additional duty, especially if the Government can see its way to apply it somehow towards the stimulation of that enterprise and the teaching of those improved methods, the lack of which among the manufacturers of this country was commented on by the Viceroy in his lucid speech on the Bill.



There is some truth in the remark that the appeals made to Government to save the sinking industries of this country are more often piteous than definite and helpful in their details. But definite suggestions too are sometimes put forward. The President of the Madras Provincial Conference, held last month, at Cocanada, recommended an industrial survey, the compilation of a treatise giving detailed information regarding various agricultural and mineral products which can with advantage be manufactured into articles of utility, the establishment of institutes of science, technical schools, mining, weaving and other industrial institutes, in the presidency and other towns, the institution of a large number of scholarships for Indian youths to proceed to foreign countries and to acquire scientific and industrial training, and the formation of bureaus of experts, whose sole business should be to direct the industrial and commercial interests of the country. It is understood that there will be men enough to utilise the information published in Government treatises, employment available to the students trained here and abroad, and capital as well as enterprise.



Lord Curzon may think that in magnitude these are large orders, though in kind they are not new. But he has not been forgetful of the commercial and industrial interests of India. He contemplates the creation of a Bureau of Commercial Intelligence, for providing Government with advice and information on commercial questions, and for systematically procuring and communicating to the commercial public, information on matters which are of interest to them, and regarding which individuals or public bodies may have difficulty in obtaining it for themselves. Information regarding the needs and the state of the market in foreign lands, supplied by the Governments of some of the countries in the West to those engaged

in commerce, has been of material advantage to those countries, and the proposal to try the experiment in India shows in how many directions an energetic Viceroy can work for the welfare of the country over which he is sent out to rule.



When the Bureau is formed, and its proposed Journal is issued, the question, which has been raised from time to time, but seldom regarded seriously, is likely to be brought into increased prominence, whether the Government may not publish a similar journal giving information relating not merely to commerce and industry, but also to other subjects which affect the well-being of the people, and in which the State is interested. A journal which is pledged to defend every official act and every governmental measure, and which enters into the arena of controversial politics, will defeat its own object ; but the same objection may not hold good in the case of a publication which, without entering into the field of controversy, gives such information as is likely to guide right thinking and a right understanding of the motives and operations of Government in its several departments. Such information is indeed found scattered in the various official reports and gazettes issued all over India, but as things stand at present, it does not come within the reach of most of the avowed and unconscious moulders of public opinion in India.



The coronation has given the people of England an opportunity of seeing the representatives of Indian society. Their dress and diamonds, their contour and complexion, their diet and demeanour, have formed the subject of interesting paragraphs in English newspapers. The East has got polarised by Western education ; and if among the coronation visitors, there is a Maharaja who carries his family god with him, there is also a judge who lectures on social reform. The one is proud of his ancient idol, the other is full of his modern ideas : the one has shown that reform is necessary, the other has said that it is inevitable. "Very intelligent, these people ; they make good husbands and good fathers ; India may be proud of them"—declared one admirer, who apparently forgot that it is not the women that ask for better husbands in India, but the men that wish to improve the lot of their women. "Very intelligent, very apt to learn and to keep pace with the advance of civilisation ; England may be proud of them"—testified others. When a pupil has reached a certain stage in his progress, he begins to feel that he ought to be more and more independent of his master : he is ashamed to avow his difficulties, and aspires to overcome them himself, without any appeal to the constant guide of his earlier years. One would not have thought of social reform in India but for English education.

But we may hear it asked, why should we talk to Englishmen about the reform of our society ? An ancient sage in India has confessed that even after he had completed his student career, he used to stay with his preceptor for a short time every year, and that he derived much benefit from interchange of ideas with him. He was a grateful and modest sage.



The genial Professor, who once suggested a Federation of all Teutons, overlooked what, among the natives of this country has become proverbial—that the rivalry of cousins is always the keenest, and that the embitterment of sweet relations is always the bitterest. Scholars tell us that in the twilight of Indo-Aryan history, two eastern nations had such serious misunderstandings that they carried their differences into the spiritual plane, and each treated the gods of the other as demons. The most disastrous war remembered in Indian tradition was a war between the sons of two brothers. Why should Germany be so bitter against England—believing, that is, all that our English informants say about this bitterness—that the Germans should have so little sympathy for the English King—who, Heaven knows, is but a constitutional King—even in his illness ? May not a cynic ask whether it is not *because* both the nations are derived from the same stock ?

EAST & WEST.

VOL. I.

OCTOBER, 1902.

NO. 12.

SHOULD INDIA BE REPRESENTED IN THE BRITISH PARLIAMENT ?

THIS question is not raised by me. It has been raised in England and even in India, and it is not India alone that it interests. It may be enlarged and presented in this way : Should not all colonies and colonial possessions have their representatives in the Metropolitan Parliaments ? To answer this question in one word would be either very presumptuous or very ignorant. I would not dare to answer it either in one word or in a hundred. I only wish to contribute here a few observations on a difficult problem.

A fact worthy of the attention of all those whom the subject interests is, that it does not present itself in every metropolis in the same manner. Holland has possessions as vast as British India, and they are administered by methods recalling those employed in India. I do not mean to say that everything is perfect in Java and Sumatra ; I have found and pointed out more than one error of government and administration there. And the Dutch are by no means blind to their defects. But I have never heard that they thought of admitting deputies from Java or Sumatra to the States-General. Spain opened the Cortès to deputies from the isles of Cuba, Porto Rico, etc. Did this measure win for those islands a better administration and for Spain a wiser colonial policy ? Did it save her from ruin ?

France possesses a mixed form of government. She has, in the two Chambers of her Parliament, representatives from certain colonies and colonial possessions, but not from all ; and, on the other hand, if she has those representatives now, she has not always had them. The historical origin and political motives of this organisation contain a lesson. Neither the Old Règime, nor the First Empire, nor the Restoration, nor the July Monarchy, had colonial deputies. I shall not dwell on the

First Empire which, in reality, was during several years separated from its colonies by the sea and the maritime domination of the English. Its colonies no longer existed. But let us consider the period during which we had colonies. The States-General admitted no colonial deputies; the Chamber of Deputies from 1815 to 1848 did not admit them; the Senate and Chamber of Deputies of the Second Empire admitted neither colonial senators nor colonial deputies. Under all these forms of Government the colonies were outside the constitution. Napoleon I. had issued a prescription in this respect, which he maintained until the Hundred Days, and which was accepted by all the Governments of which I have spoken: the Colonies must be administered by special laws. In point of fact our Old Régime admitted from time to time representatives from the colonies, sometimes under the appellation of deputies and sometimes of delegates, under various electoral conditions, being elected either by the Supreme Councils or by the Chambers of Agriculture and Commerce. These representatives were admitted to the King's Council (Board of Trade) or attached to the Admiralty Office. But they were specialists, technicians, whom the king desired to be able to consult, as he did, for instance, the Chambers of Commerce of his kingdom, either to enlighten himself on the situation and *desiderata* of the colonies, or to prepare a code of laws adapted to their needs. There was, indeed, at one period something which bore a certain likeness to the deputation system—there were representatives to whom the colonies entrusted the care of watching over certain complaints, petitions of reform, etc., which were to be presented to the King in the metropolis. But they were not deputies in the modern acceptation of the word, and a proof that Royalty had no conception that the colonies might have deputies in France, is to be found in the fact that when, in 1787, they were preparing the convocation of the famous *Etats Généraux*, which had not been called together by the Monarchy since 1610, and which were to open the Revolution, the smallest bailiwick in France was invited to draw up laws and take part in the election of deputies, but not any of the colonies, even the most considerable amongst them. The Consulate, the Empire until 1809, after them the Restoration and the Government of July, had also colonial deputies or delegates. But these representatives were not, like those of the Metropolis, admitted to

the Chamber of Deputies. They consisted of a very small number of deputies or delegates, sometimes appointed by the Government, in exceptional conditions, under the régime of a high census, by a very small constituency, and either received by the King, or more properly his Minister of Marine during the Restoration, or formed into a Colonial Council during the Consulate; and under Louis Philippe's Government the Colonies did not participate in the national representation.

The Second Empire saw the formation of a very meagre Colonial Council partly appointed by the Emperor, partly elected. It had no great activity and no serious influence on the march of affairs.

The colonies were only admitted to send representatives to the Metropolitan assemblies by the Revolution and the Republic in 1790, 1848 and 1871. And how this was brought about deserves to be related. I have already said that in 1787 the expiring Monarchy did not summon the colonies to take part in the States-General. That is easy to understand; the Protocol of that time had drawn its inspiration, for all that concerned this convocation, from precedents which dated as far back as 1610. In 1610, with the solitary exception of our rudimentary Canadian establishment, we had no colonies, and consequently, no colonial representatives at the States-General. In 1787 the Protocol, following this precedent, did not even ask if the colonies should now be represented. But this question, laid aside by the Protocol, was taken up by the colonies themselves. At St. Domingo, a wonderful colony which was then carrying on with France a commerce of 700,000 francs (worth two milliards in our time), the settlers indignantly protested at not having been summoned to elect deputies. As Frenchmen, said they, whom emigration had not deprived of their rights, as patriots who had so often fought for the mother country, as skilful planters and traders who had enriched her, they claimed the right of sharing in the destinies of the nation, and in this solemn circumstance, sending their representatives to join hers. And they did as they said.

Of their own accord, without the authorisation of the King, they elected deputies, sent them to Versailles, and finally, in spite of strenuous opposition—in spite of Mirabeau himself—obtained access to the assemblies where the Revolution maintained them. And by this time the question had assumed a wider range. After St. Domingo

the other colonies were admitted to the assemblies. They went even farther. The point at issue was no longer whether the colonies should send their deputies to the National Assemblies, but whether the white men alone should have the privilege of electing them, and under the influence of Robespierre, inspired by the doctrines of Jean Jacques Rousseau, the electoral privilege was extended first from the white to the free coloured races, until the day came when all coloured people were liberated and proclaimed citizens. This last reform was the work of the Republic of 1848. The men of the Second Republic lived in the spirit and the traditions of the Revolution. The Revolution had theoretically decreed the abolition of slavery—the Republic realised this abolition. The Revolution had conceded to the colonies the right of electing deputies; this right, suppressed by subsequent governments, was restored by the Republic; the Revolution had admitted all freed slaves to the honours of the electorate, the Republic gave their freedom to all the coloured races of our colonies, and at the same time made them electors. These reforms were proclaimed by two decrees of the Provisional Government, from March 5th to April 27th, 1848, which assigned sixteen deputies to Algeria and the other colonies. Later, an Act of the Executive Assembly—8th February to 15th March 1849—(Clause 30) reduced the number of deputies for each colony, providing three only for Algeria, two for Martinique, two for Guadeloupe, one for Guiana, one for Senegal, two for Reunion—a total of 11 instead of 16. The Second Empire abolished all that (Constitution of 14th January 1852 and decree of 2nd February 1852.) The third Republic re-established it. This was the result of several legislative enactments. First, a decree of September 15th, 1870, the work of the Republican Government of National Defence. By this decree the men who drew it up, nurtured in the pure doctrine of the Revolution, Gambetta, Jules Ferry, etc., called upon Algeria and the other colonies to elect deputies for the next Constitutive Assembly, the number of these deputies being what had been fixed by the law of 1849. The continuation of the war prevented the decree of the 15th of September from being carried out. But a little later three decrees, 29th and 30th January and 1st February, called upon the nation and the colonies to elect a National Assembly in view of peace. With regard to the number of deputies to be elected in each colony, the decree of the 1st of

February referred to that of the 15th September 1870, which had been itself inspired by the law of March 1849, but with two modifications; it added to the list of colonies French India which was to elect one deputy, and allotted to Algeria six deputies instead of three. The reason of these modifications was well known to the contemporaries of that time. The Assembly about to be elected would probably have more to do than make a treaty of peace. It would have to endow the country with a form of government. Now that the Empire had fallen, would France accept the Republic, which was then simply the Government *de facto*? The Assembly would be the judge. As it was well known that Algeria and the colonies were strongly imbued with the republican idea, the more deputies they had, the more votes would be secured for the Republic. That is why six seats were given to Algeria, as in 1848, instead of three, and one to French India, which had hitherto never taken part in an election. Peace signed, the Assembly elected in February 1871, declared itself constituent, and a few years later, set about voting the constitution. The Republic was proclaimed by a majority of one vote. And it has become a dogma that the Republic owes its being to the colonial deputies. But this Assembly, where the monarchical element had so large a place, and which had accepted the Republic for want of something better, could not have been grateful to the colonies. It was willing to grant them senators but took away some of their deputies. By the law of 24th February 1875, which organised the senate, three senators were given to Algeria and one to each of the following colonies: Martinique, Guadeloupe, Réunion, India. By the law of the 30th of November 1875, which organised the Chamber of Deputies, as many deputies were allotted to the colonies as they had senators—three for Algeria and one to each of the above-mentioned colonies. This was taking away a deputy from each of the three colonies, Guadeloupe, Martinique, Reunion; it was taking away from two others, Guiana and Senegal, the right of being represented in the Metropolitan Assembly at all. It was a complete recoil from the decree of 1871. And thus the question whether the colonies should send representatives to the Metropolitan Assembly or not, became a political question.

It was not in the interest of the colonies themselves, but in the interest of the Republic that senators and deputies were granted or

withdrawn. And a question of colonial policy was thus transformed into a purely political one. The monarchical parties having been beaten in 1877, the Republican assemblies which followed, restored their second deputy to each of the three colonies, Guadeloupe, Martinique, Reunion (16th June 1885), and their deputy to each of the two colonies, Guiana and Senegal (8th April 1879), and at length gave a deputy to Cochin-China (28th July 1881). So that at present the French colonies are represented in France as follows:—

<i>Colonies.</i>			<i>Deputies.</i>	<i>Senators.</i>
Algeria	...	...	6	3
Guadeloupe	...	...	2	1
Martinique	...	...	2	1
Reunion	...	...	2	1
India	...	...	1	1
Guiana	...	...	1	...
Senegal	...	...	1	...
Cochin-China	...	...	1	...

Those who have followed our colonial affairs know that the colonies to which the right of having their representatives in Parliament has been conceded, are neither the totality nor even the most important of the French colonies. Algeria is certainly a large and fine colony, but Tunis, near it, is hardly a possession to be disdained. While Algeria has deputies and senators, Tunis possesses neither the one nor the other. Cochin-China is a prosperous and very promising country, but in French Indo-China, of which it forms a part, we have besides Cambodia and Laos, Annam and Tonkin, which have a much greater importance present and future. Cochin-China has one deputy, the rest of Indo-China has no representative in the Metropolitan Parliament. Senegal makes a good figure amongst the French possessions of the West Coast of Africa, but it is at least equalled by flourishing Guinea, Ivory Coast, a centre of great wealth, and Dahomey, so full of future promise. Senegal has a deputy; Dahomey, Ivory Coast, French Guinea have none. New Caledonia which, its convicts apart, contains 12,500 French inhabitants, has no representative in Parliament. Madagascar, which is certainly the colony that has been the most talked of and attracted the greatest number of colonists during the last few years, has neither deputy nor senator. A curious fact, and one difficult to explain, is,

that amongst the colonies that have been admitted to send their representatives to Parliament, some only have access to the Chamber of Deputies, while others are also represented in the Senate. Why has India senators and deputies? Why has Senegal only a deputy? It is a mystery of which the elaboration of the laws which decided it offers no plausible explanation.

But let us leave this question of detail to return to the principal problem, why certain colonies have deputies while others have none? What is the reason that some have been granted what has been refused to others?

Is it because some have a more considerable proportion of French inhabitants? That would seem probable. Algeria contains, without speaking of the soldiers, 400,000 Frenchmen, which might explain its six deputies and three senators. But Cochin-China, which has only 5,000 French inhabitants (apart from the garrison), has a deputy, and Guiana, whose French population only numbers a few dozen, has one also. On the other hand, New Caledonia, which contains 12,000 French inhabitants, and Tunis, 25,500, have neither of them any representative.

Is it, leaving the French element out of the question, because these colonies which have their representatives are peopled by native races since long united to France and more completely assimilated than the others? This might be believed. Guadeloupe, Martinique and Reunion, which possess senators and deputies, have been French colonies for more than two centuries and a half. The natives all speak our tongue, and their slight varnish of civilisation is very distinctly French. But Cochin-China, which has only been ours for forty years, and whose two million inhabitants, thoroughly impregnated with Chinese civilisation, only speak Annamite and are rather refractory to French ideas, has a representative in the Chamber of Deputies.

Is it because some of our colonies are in a technical sense *colonies* of Europeans, of Frenchmen, subject to the direct administration of Frenchmen, whilst the others are *possessions*, subject to a form of government which may be compared more or less to a protectorate? That is a distinction which seems admissible. Tunis, a protectorate, has no deputy; Annam, also a protectorate, has no deputy; but Madagascar, a protectorate which has become a colony, has none

either, any more than Tahiti, which is also a protectorate transformed into a colony. Lastly, Senegal, a colony of which a part is a protectorate, has a deputy. Thus, of all the different elements of which we ask a criterion, none can furnish us with a sure and always exact one.

But here is an observation which will, I think, afford one or more than one. The colonies, or possessions, which have been taken into the colonial empire of France under the Third Republic, have not been admitted to send their representatives to the Metropolitan Parliament. Consult the list of those that have senators or deputies—they were all incorporated with France before 1870. Consult the list of those to which all kind of representation has been refused—they have all been conquered since 1870.

So, since 1870 France has reflected and modified her system. And it is since 1870 that she has no longer authorised the colonies and colonial possessions to come into the great French political family. Has the Republic broken, then, with the traditions of the Old Régime, granting representation before 1870 and refusing it since? Is that the criterion? Not at all—that would be, as we already know, an absolute error. On the contrary, the Governments prior to the Republic were those that refused the colonies any representation. It was the Republic that, as a political measure, granted it to them.

Then, what is the meaning of our remark that only those colonies conquered before 1870 have their representatives in Parliament? Simply this—before the war of 1870, the colonies, with the exception of Algeria, were unimportant, and constituted only a secondary element in France's greatness. The years immediately following 1870 brought about no change in that state of things. With very few exceptions our politicians treated the colonies as a "*quantité négligeable*"—they did not think of granting them their own constitution. They found them in the orbit of continental France and left them there. A law which was good enough for France would be good enough for the colonies. The colonies are nearly the same as departments. The departments have deputies, the colonies may very well have them too. They were represented formerly, they will be represented again. What monarchical despotism refused, Republican liberalism will grant, and as the laws which are good enough for France must be good enough for the colonies, so it is with

the constitution—above all, because they are such small colonies. For Algeria is gradually becoming a French Province. It is divided into departments with prefects at their head, Justices of the Peace, Tribunals of First Instance, and all the public services are connected with Paris, with the different Ministerial offices. It is part of France. As to the others, mere dust of the colonies, they must follow the common law—the law of the metropolis.

There is the system ; or rather no system, but measures taken, or submitted to from day to day. This colony is granted what has already been conceded to that one. Senegal and Guiana must have deputies because the Antilles have them, India will have them after Senegal, and Cochin-China after India. There are, however, a few exceptions; Tahiti is too unimportant and New Caledonia is a convict colony, and that lasted—remember the date—until 1881. That is the criterion date—1881, not 1870. Until 1881 this assimilation of the colonies to the metropolis was accepted without hesitation, and deputies and senators were conceded to them. After 1881 the Government continues the representative system for those colonies already provided with deputies, but stops and hesitates for the others. This was because in 1881 the real colonial policy of France began. France adopted this colonial policy deliberately, coherently with a plan and a system. She conquered and organised. She conquered or occupied Tunis in 1881, Tonkin and Annam in 1884, West Africa (with the exception of Senegal), in 1890, and Madagascar, the flower of her colonial empire, in 1895.

A characteristic common to all these countries is that they are not colonies—they are possessions peopled with numerous aborigines, 20 million Annamites and Tonkinese, 3 million diverse natives of Madagascar, 2 million Arabs and Kabyles, about 10 million negroes. And with this mass of new subjects a small number of French citizens, settlers or officials, 25,000 in Tunis, 8,000 in Indo-China, 4,000 in Madagascar, a few hundred in West Africa. We have here evidently not merely a native majority but a native bulk. The settler disappears before the man of colour. The citizen becomes the subject. The French are interesting, no doubt ; so are the natives and in an equal degree. It is the native, and the native alone, who can supply manual labour, that it to say, work and wealth. For there is no slavery at present, no more compulsory engagements, nothing but

free labour, which the native may give or refuse as he pleases. If, as may be supposed, his interests are, and, thanks to our ignorance of the true conditions of contemporary colonisation, likely long to remain, in an at least apparent contradiction with those of the settler, the metropolis cannot deliberately sacrifice the former to the latter. A like protection must be accorded to the one and the other, and as the deputy or senator of a new possession would be inevitably the white men's man, the Government must not allow them any representation in Parliament. The Government, through its different agents and organs, must be impartially the protector and defender of all alike, French or native. That is why the colonies conquered or occupied or born to political life since 1881 have neither deputies nor senators. Neither Tunis, nor Madagascar, nor Tonkin, nor Annam, nor Guiana, nor Ivory Coast, nor Dahomey, nor Congo, all conquered or occupied since 1881, has representatives. New Caledonia, which from a convict prison has become a colony, has none either; we have occupied it since 1852, but its birth to economical life only dates from 1890. All those which do not date farther back than 1881 have no representatives in Parliament.

* And that is not all. For numerous reasons, too long to develop here, there is a present tendency amongst those who take an interest in our colonies to treat those which date before 1881 like those which date after. The latter have been refused representation in Parliament, and it is thought this representation may one day be withdrawn from the former, or at least from a certain number of them. Briefly, then, at the present hour the opinion of competent men and even of the general public is, that the right of being represented in the Metropolitan Parliament, far from being extended to all the colonies, should rather be taken away from those that possess it. Such is the state of the question in France. It seemed to me that, as a Frenchman, it pertained to me to speak of it with a few details. May I add that I do not unreservedly share in the opinion I have just indicated, and that if it be deemed advisable to take away from the colonies the right of being represented in Parliament, I consider that other guarantees should be given them in exchange?

England has not, so far, granted Parliamentary representation to her colonies. She has given them diverse constitutions and more or less liberty; she has not bound them to the metropolis by the

privilege of a common assembly. Why has she not done this ? Precisely because she has done something else for them. This something else France, which has given her colonies representatives in her Parliament, has never known—it is to give those colonies guarantees, or to speak more correctly, political institutions.

Political institutions, whatever be the form they affect, are instruments destined to furnish necessary guarantees to citizens, they limit excessive power and prevent too glaring abuses. Sometimes they adopt the form of tribunals, and sometimes of deliberative assemblies, always retaining that of a power which counterbalances another for the good of the people. Without them anyone may be menaced in his life, his liberty or his property. For instance, without them, the judge or the military chief would be omnipotent. Such institutions, with the guarantees they offer, keep the soldier, the judge and the governor within the limits of their respective functions. They are in themselves a sufficient corrective to the extensive power given necessarily to Government agents in those distant lands, and where this corrective is not provided those concerned are inevitably led to seek it elsewhere. Hence the delegates and deputies at the King's court under the Old Régime, hence the deputies and senators of the present form of Government in France. They take the place of institutions, they provide guarantees ; if there be anything faulty, the Governor hushes it up to the minister; the minister, if he knows it, does not inform the Parliament, but the deputy reveals what ought to be revealed—his mission is to speak, and he speaks. The only danger is that he speaks too much.

This explains why England, so far, has been neither obliged to concede or refuse deputies to her colonies. Her colonies did not need them. Not that the organisation of the English colonies is above criticism. (We French admire them perhaps too much; our admiration is not born of ignorance, but rather of envy. We make up our mind to admire what we have been ourselves wanting in so long.) But however imperfect this organization may be, it satisfies the desire for liberty of the new Anglo-Saxon societies ; as their free action has been but little hampered, they never had to protest or rebel and demand supplementary guarantees. They have found the independence of their movements secured by their constitution. And it is much to England's honour that the English colonies have

had this collection of guarantees dealt out to them, above all, when it is remembered that these guarantees are already of ancient date and that they go back to a time when England cared little for colonies. Imperialist England of to-day does not remember (with the exception of a few specialists) to what extent economist England of half a century ago was indifferent to her colonies. In 1830, some notable colonials founded in London a Society of Colonisation, the avowed aim of which was to cope with the hostile indifference of the Colonial Minister. In the time of Gladstone and Bright, those master minds whose memory we venerate in France, the emancipation, abandonment or loss of the colonies was commonly spoken of. And it was, however, during that same period of indifference that the colonies were given that varied and supple constitution, combining liberty with control, which spared the colonies the necessity of asking, and the metropolis that of refusing or bargaining over, the colonial representation in the Metropolitan Parliament.

With this constitution, and these guarantees, everything appeared so well and so definitely settled, that an Englishman of thirty years ago who had all his life taken an interest in colonial affairs might well have believed that in his country such a question would never be raised. However, it has now been raised and may become obtrusive. It is not yet very distinct, and the Government do not perhaps think of it. But others think of it for them. It dates from 1886, the year of the Indian and Colonial Exhibition, and 1887, the year of the Colonial Conference, and it has grown with Imperialism. Imperialism vaguely tends to a Parliament common to the whole Empire.

The French are not imperialists, in colonial affairs I mean ; they have not, or at least very few among them, have, the concept that it is good for the future of the nation and the race that the metropolis should find an outlet elsewhere and fertilise new lands, that the colonies form one body with the metropolis, and that powerful colonies create a more powerful metropolis. They had, however, realised long before Imperialist England a Parliament common to the metropolis and the colonies. But they realised it under other influences, for other reasons and for other purposes, and that is why the experience of France is not a decisive argument for England. France is visibly discontented with the system she accepted rather

than created. Can anything be deduced from this to dissuade England from trying it? No; the colonial representatives in the French Parliament are, whatever they may themselves think, less a political organ than an administrative machinery, an instrument of control and warning which neither the administration nor the colonial constitution has been able to create. The colonial representatives in the French Parliament furnish those guarantees which are wanting in the administrative organisation.

Imperialist Great Britain would try to make a political and economic organ of her colonial members in the English Parliament, a bond between the scattered members of a single body, an instrument of national life and reciprocal penetration. The aim is entirely different, and the failure of France proves nothing against the project of England. I think, however, that an English Parliament affording shelter to members from the colonies and colonial possessions would be both erroneous and impotent. If anything be wanting it is not an English Parliament enlarged and ornamented by a few competent colonials, but a Bundelrath of Anglo-Saxon societies.

And as we are speaking principally of India, I will add that to my mind India would have no place in the Bundelrath. India is not an Anglo-Saxon society, but something quite apart in the British Empire. It is India. And India needs a machinery made especially for it—needs it at home and abroad. But the exposition of my ideas would lead me too far. I will resume the subject a little later at leisure.

JOSEPH CHAILLEY-BERT.

GOLCONDA.

THE STORY OF A SIEGE AND A GALLANT DEFENCE.

THE citadel of Golconda stands on a rocky hill rising abruptly from the plain, on the north bank of the river Musi, about seven miles from the city of Haidarabad, the capital of the Nizam's dominions. The citadel itself, strongly fortified, is surrounded by stone walls enclosing a large area, within which the city of Golconda, once the capital of the Qutb Shahi kings, formerly stood. The city has long since been deserted, and the interior of the fort is now a cantonment where some of H. H. the Nizam's regular troops are quartered with their followers. It also contains the state treasury and some other buildings still in use, but the citadel is deserted.

When the hill on which the citadel now stands was first fortified we do not know, but we are told that it was formerly the site of a mud fort built by one of the earlier Rajas of Vijayanagar, the great Hindu empire of the Peninsula. Of its early history practically nothing is known, and it was probably a place of very little importance until the Qutb Shahi kings made it their capital. In the reign of Muhammad Shah Lashkari, the thirteenth emperor of the great Bahmani dynasty, which reigned in the Deccan for nearly two hundred years, troubles arose in Telingana, and a Baharlu Turk of Hamadan, Sultan Quli by name, who had been a slave in the household, was, after some hesitation, appointed to pacify the country and to clear the land of the robbers who overran it. He had formerly been employed as accountant-general to the imperial harem, to the ladies of which lands had been assigned in Telingana, and his faithful discharge of his duties in this post stood him in good stead, for, when Telingana was overrun by robbers so that the rents were never regularly remitted, and for long periods together were never received

at all, those who suffered most from the anarchy prevailing in that province used their powerful influence to obtain for their faithful servant the post of pacificator. The young Turk's performance of the task thus entrusted to him surpassed the expectations of all. The condition of the empire at this time was such that an appeal to arms would probably have hastened its downfall, and the young man was consequently compelled to rely on his diplomatic tact and personal charm of manner. Notwithstanding the disadvantages under which he laboured, he soon succeeded in restoring order, thus securing the confidence placed in him by the ladies of the harem and winning useful friends among those *amirs* of the empire who had lands in Telingana.

In the reign of Mahmud Shah, the son and successor of Muhammad Lashkari, Sultan Quli became an *amir* of the empire, with the title of Qutb-ul-Mulk, receiving as his *jagir* Golconda with the surrounding country. Shortly after receiving this grant he was appointed commander-in-chief in Telingana, a position which strengthened his hands considerably. In A. H. 918 (A. D. 1512) Qutb-ul-Mulk, who had for some time been practically independent, followed the example which had been set by Yusuf Adil Khan, Ahmad Nizam-ul-Mulk, and Fath Ullah Imad-ul-Mulk, the governors of Bijapur, Ahmadnagar, and Berar, and, throwing off his allegiance to the now feeble house of Bahmani, had himself proclaimed independent sovereign of the territory which he had hitherto ruled in the emperor's name under the style of Sultan Quli Qutb Shah, and made Golconda his capital. Sultan Quli had already replaced the old Hindu mud fort with a substantial fortress of stone which the surrounding country yielded in large quantities. His fort received many and substantial additions at the hands of his descendants and successors. The Qutb Shahi kings of Golconda did not, like their neighbours the Adil Shahi kings of Bijapur, run mad on architecture, but they built, and built well, in spite of a depraved preference for stucco for buildings other than fortifications. Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah, the fourth king of the dynasty, made extensive additions to the fort built by his ancestor, and also founded, as his residential capital, the city of Haidarabad, which he at first named Bhagnagar, after his favourite mistress, a Hindu girl named Bhagmati. Abdullah Qutb Shah, the successor of Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah, also devoted much

care to the improvement of the fortress, and constructed a spacious *ambar-khana* or store-house within the citadel. An inscription on black basalt, recording the erection of this *ambar-khana*, is still in an excellent state of preservation. It relates that the *ambar-khana* was completed, by the efforts of Khairat Khan, the faithful servant of the glorious King Abdullah Qutb Shah, in the month of Rajab, A.H. 1052 (A. D. 1642).^{*} Just within the gate of the citadel is an extensive armoury of three stories. The summit of the steep rocky hill on which the inner citadel is situated is crowned by a large hall with a flat roof, whence a magnificent view of the surrounding country may be obtained. Here, we may imagine, the successors of the resourceful and accomplished Turk were wont to sit in the cool of the evening, enjoying the fresh breeze and surveying the fair landscape spread out around them, and from this point of vantage Abu-ul-Hasan, the last and far from the least of that kingly race, doubtless watched, with mingled apprehension and amusement, the efforts of the great host of the emperor of Dihli to wrest from him his fortress capital, the last possession that remained to him of all his dominions.

We now come to the most stirring and interesting event in the history of Golconda—its siege and capture by the emperor Aurangzib, and the extinction of the Qutb Shahi dynasty. Aurangzib had, in his younger days, been viceroy of the Deccan in the reign of his father, Shah Jahan, and had made Aurangabad his capital. He had even then formed the resolve of overthrowing the two remaining independent kingdoms of the Deccan, Bijapur and Golconda, and in the case of the latter very nearly carried his purpose into execution. In A.H. 1066 (A. D. 1665-66) Mir Jumla, the most powerful subject of Abdullah Qutb Shah, had by his arrogance deeply offended his master, to whom his great power and wealth rendered him an object of fear and envy. Abdullah Qutb Shah, on discovering that an improper intimacy existed between Mir Jumla and the queen-mother, lost control of his passion and declared that he would revenge himself on his presumptuous subject. Mir Jumla who was absent from Court, hearing of his master's anger, at once

^{*} The inscription runs as follows :—

در عهد درویش پادشاه جم جاء ملائک سہاء عبد اللہ قطبشاہ بمعی ہند در کاہ
خیر اقبال ابن البار خالہ با تمام رسید بتاريخ رجب المرجب سنہ ۱۰۵۲

wrote a letter to Aurangzib, claiming his protection and offering to assist him in capturing Golconda, an enterprise which, he declared, would present no difficulties. Abdullah Qutb Shah's next move was to throw Mir Jumla's son, Mir Muhammad Amin, into prison. Repeated letters from Aurangzib, directing the release of the young man, produced no result, and the prince accordingly, with the consent of his father the emperor, who ordered the governor of Malwa and the neighbouring feudatories to render all the assistance they could, prepared to march against Golconda. The prince sent his eldest son, Sultan Muhammad, with a large following, in the direction of Golconda, cloaking his design by the pretext that he was sending him to Bengal in order that he might there wed his cousin, the daughter of Sultan Shuja. He followed his son with a larger force. Abdullah Qutb Shah, alarmed at the approach of Sultan Muhammad, who had now advanced to within six miles of Haidarabad, and disturbed by the news that the imperial army was following in his wake, collected what valuables he could and fled from Haidarabad to Golconda. The young prince encamped by the Husain Sagar tank, and Haidarabad, deserted by its king, was plundered. An encounter took place between the Mughal troops and a detached body of the Golconda army, in which the latter was worsted. Abdullah Qutb Shah then endeavoured to temporise, and sent presents to Sultan Muhammad who, however, refused to make any terms until the whole of Mir Jumla's property was given up. In the meantime Aurangzib was approaching with the main body of the army, and on his arrival preparations were made for laying siege to Golconda in regular form. As the siege progressed Shayista Khan, the governor of Malwa, and other chiefs, joined Aurangzib's army. Golconda was reduced to serious straits when a message suddenly arrived from the old emperor at Delhi commanding Aurangzib to desist, and conveying an assurance of forgiveness to Abdullah Qutb Shah. Shah Jahan was at this time under the influence of his eldest son, Dara Shikuh, who was jealous of Aurangzib's success, and probably had no difficulty in persuading his father that the conqueror of the wealthy city of Golconda would lose no time in becoming the emperor of Delhi. He could cite a precedent by retailing the story of Ala-ud-din Muhammad Khilji and his too trusting uncle, Jalal-ud-din Firuz Khilji. Aurangzib obeyed the command without a murmur, though the terms which he

was able to enforce are sufficient to prove that Golconda could not have held out much longer. An indemnity which covered the cost of the expedition was recovered from the king, who also gave his daughter in marriage to Aurangzib's son, Sultan Muhammad, and designated his newly-made son-in-law heir-apparent to the throne of Golconda. All Mir Jumla's property and family were surrendered, and it would seem that Abdullah even went so far as to deliver up his mother to her lover. To his daughter he gave as dowry the district of Ramgir, which adjoined the southern dominions of the emperor of Delhi, and by this surrender became incorporated in them. He also agreed to insert the emperor's name in the inscription on his silver coinage, thus proclaiming himself, according to oriental custom, a vassal of Delhi. Mir Jumla entered the service of Aurangzib, and the Mughal troops were withdrawn from Golconda. Meanwhile Aurangzib bided his time. He had, as he thought, secured the reversion of Golconda, but he meant to have Delhi and Bijapur to boot. He must have seen by this time that Delhi should be his first objective, and the prompt obedience which he rendered to his father's order was, in all likelihood, merely a blind. Two years later he ascended the throne, having incarcerated or exiled his brothers and imprisoned his father. Circumstances prevented him from attending to the affairs of Golconda for many years after his accession, but the great object of his reign was to stamp out the independence of the two kingdoms yet remaining in the south and to establish an empire from Kabul to Cape Comorin.

The turn of Bijapur came first, and in A.D. 1686 Sultan Sikan-dar Adil Shah was besieged in his capital by the emperor. In the meantime Abdullah Qutb Shah had died, and had been succeeded by his nephew Abu-l-Hasan. This king, presaging what his fate would be if the independence of Bijapur were destroyed, gave his neighbour what help he could afford. But it was all to no purpose—Bijapur fell and Sikandar Adil Shah was taken captive.

The siege of Bijapur interfered very little with Aurangzib's plans for the conquest of Golconda, and he had already, in A.D. 1684, before marching against Bijapur, commenced operations in the Eastern kingdom. Troops were sent, first under Khan-i-Jahan Kukaltash, and then under prince Muhammad Mu'azzam, the emperor's second son, to wrest from Abu-l-Hasan, the king of Golconda, some tracts of

Telingana which he claimed as part of his dominions. An envoy, Mirza Muhammad, was also sent by Aurangzib to Abu-l-Hasan, ostensibly for the purpose of demanding from him two large diamonds, the price of which, the emperor promised, should be taken into account in calculating the tribute due from Golconda, but really for the purpose of reporting upon Abu-l-Hasan's administration, and, according to private instructions received from the emperor himself, with the object of goading the unfortunate king, by insolence, into some overt act of hostility against the emperor, and thus furnishing an excuse for an attack on Haidarabad. His mission was not unsuccessful. Abu-l-Hasan protested that he had no such diamonds as those described by the emperor, and Mirza Muhammad's behaviour goaded him one day into saying, "I, too, am called a king in my own country." The envoy insultingly replied that the title was a misnomer, whereupon the cautious monarch replied, "It is you who are mistaken, for if I be not called a king, how can Alamgir be called the king of kings?" The envoy afterwards confessed that on this one occasion Abu-l-Hasan got the better of him in controversy.

Meanwhile Muhammad Mu'azzam and the Khan-i-Jahan had advanced into the Golconda territories, and the troops of Abu-l-Hasan went out to meet them. Mu'azzam, who had little taste for his mission, was anxious, if possible, to avoid bloodshed, but the only terms which he could offer were so humiliating, being no less than the surrender of all for which he had come to fight, the payment of all arrears of tribute, and a humble apology from Abu-l-Hasan, that the king could not accept them. In the hostilities which followed the failure of the negotiations, the imperial forces were everywhere triumphant, and the parganas which had formed the subject of the dispute remained in their possession. But Mu'azzam, who was far from being convinced of the justice of his father's cause, and was personally well disposed towards Abu-l-Hasan, deliberately failed to follow up the successes of the troops under his command, and in consequence of their supineness both he and the Khan-i-Jahan were severely rebuked by the emperor. The Dakanis, though they no longer dared to face the Mughals in the open field, harassed them with continual night attacks, and during a period of four or five months, throughout which Mu'azzam and the Khan-i-Jahan, who were disgusted with the emperor's severity, neither ordered nor permitted any

action that might have been decisive. The Mughal troops scarcely knew what it was to get a good night's rest. The news of their inactivity only served to inflame still further the wrath of Aurangzib, who now wrote with his own hand a letter in which he severely upbraided his son, adding to it a note for the benefit of the Khan-i-Jahan, the substance of which was that the emperor well knew that his son's misconduct was the effect of the Khan's evil counsels.

The prince, reduced to tears by his father's letter, was at length stung into action. He called a council, but the result of its deliberations only increased his perplexity. The Khan-i-Jahan and the more influential officers, prompted partly by sloth and partly by cowardice, but chiefly by gratifications received from Abu-l-Hasan and his officers, advised a continuance of the policy of inaction. Sayyid Abdullah Khan, of Barh, however, warned the prince that it would be dangerous to hesitate any longer in carrying out the emperor's wishes, and counselled immediate action. Mu'azzam, who will henceforth be designated by his title, Shah Alam, followed a middle course, and sent a most undignified message to Muhammad Ibrahim, the commander of the Golconda forces, to whom he condescended to explain the dilemma in which he found himself, representing that his unwillingness to pursue hostilities had drawn upon him the wrath of his father, and that the time had come when it was no longer possible for him to remain inactive. He then proceeded in a more dignified strain to explain that he personally had no wish to proceed to extremities, and advised Muhammad Ibrahim to evacuate the districts occupied by the imperial forces. If this were done, he said, he would have grounds on which he could address his father with a view to dissuading him from the design of destroying such independence as the Kingdom of Golconda still possessed. With this message Shah Alam sent a valuable emerald as a present for Muhammad Ibrahim, an action which cannot but have been interpreted as that of a suppliant for peace. Consequently, although Muhammad Ibrahim himself was disposed to accept the prince's terms, the opinion of his officers, and especially of the Hindus among them, who were aware that Aurangzib would never rest while a state in which idolators enjoyed the indulgences allowed to them in Golconda remained independent, was too strong for him. Moreover the Dakanis were inspired by the arrival of a reinforcement from Golconda. A reply, the terms of

which recall the famous piece of French bombast, "Not a stone of our fortresses, not a foot of our territory," was sent to Shah Alam's pacific message, and the guns of the Dakanis opened a vigorous fire on his camp. Some damage was done, and Shah Alam's spirit was at length aroused. He drew up his forces and advanced to the attack. The Dakanis were prepared, resisted most stubbornly, but were at length beaten back. In the course of the pursuit Shaikh Minhaj, one of Abu-l-Hasan's generals, sent a message to Mu'izzu-d-din, Shah Alam's eldest son, imploring him as a fellow-Muslim to stay his hand until the wives and families of the defeated army could be conveyed to a place of safety. The young prince, after consulting his father, consented to a brief truce. The Dakanis, of course, utilised the time thus gained in re-forming for a fresh stand, and a second battle, more determined than the first, followed. The Dakanis were at length again put to flight, but even while fleeing had the incredible impudence to send a message to Mu'izzu-d-din deprecating the wholesale slaughter of Muslims on both sides, and proposing that the dispute should be settled by a combat between a few chosen champions selected from each army, an old device in Southern India. The proposal was submitted to Shah Alam, who in reply proposed that the Dakanis who, having been put to flight in the open field now sought an opportunity of displaying the admittedly superior dexterity of their champions in sword-play, should engage the champions of the imperial army on elephants. This did not suit the Southerners, and they declined the challenge. Shah Alam received news the next morning that the officers of the Golconda army were in full flight towards Haidarabad, and having caused the great drums to be beaten to celebrate his victory, he started in pursuit.

Meanwhile the Brahman advisers of Abu-l-Hasan contrived to poison his mind against Muhammad Ibrahim, whom they accused of temporising with Shah Alam, and the conspiracy was so successful that it was resolved to throw its victim into prison and presently to put him to death on his return to Haidarabad. But Muhammad Ibrahim, before reaching the city, received information of the designs of his enemies, and immediately made his submission to Shah Alam, by whom he was received with every mark of favour.

Shah Alam had by this time arrived within striking distance of Haidarabad, and the news of his approach and of the defection of

Muhammad Ibrahim struck dismay into the hearts of Abu-l-Hasan and his advisers. It was now that Abu-l-Hasan committed the only unkingly act recorded of him in the dark days which were beginning to fall upon him, the last of a kingly race. Smitten with sudden panic, he fled suddenly by night, with such of his valuables as could be transported by the slaves of his harem, from Haidarabad to the old fortress capital, leaving the bulk of his treasure and most of his harem behind. His flight was a signal for a rising of the mob in Haidarabad, who plundered the wealthy and respectable inhabitants indiscriminately, and for some time Haidarabad suffered as a city taken by storm. The mercantile community was plundered, according to Khafi Khan, to the extent of four or five millions sterling, while respectable citizens thought themselves fortunate if they could escape on foot, leading their unveiled wives and daughters by the hand to the fortress. Before the mob had well finished their work, the army of Shah Alam arrived, and gutted even the palace of the king. The prince did all he could to restore quiet. The provost-marshal of his army and the minister of Abu-l-Hasan co-operated, and endeavoured by patrolling the town with a body of five hundred horse to check the plunderers, but neither the foreign army nor the native mob was to be restrained. The unfortunate king sent a message from the fort imploring that the hand of the spoilers might be stayed, and at length they were to some extent brought under control.

Shah Alam had next to consider the terms of peace with Abu-l-Hasan Shah. He stipulated for the payment of an indemnity of ten crores and twenty lakhs of rupees, over and above the fixed annual tribute, and the exclusion of the two Brahman advisers of the king, Madna and Akna, from the councils of the kingdom. The districts of which the conquest had been the ostensible object of the war were to be ceded to the emperor. On these terms, which were perforce agreed to, Shah Alam consented to intercede with the emperor and to endeavour to dissuade him from the further prosecution of hostilities. Madna and Akna were not only excluded from the councils of the kingdom; two of the widows of Abdullah Shah, Abu-l-Hasan's uncle and predecessor, were so enraged with the two Hindus, whom they held accountable for all the troubles that had befallen the State, that without consulting the king they caused them to be assassinated and had their heads sent to Shah Alam.

The news of the treaty with Abu-l-Hasan was conveyed to the emperor, who was at Sholapur exercising a general supervision over the operations against Bijapur and Golconda. Openly he expressed himself satisfied, but in private he made no secret of his displeasure at what he considered the lame conclusion of a successful expedition. He recalled the Khan-i-Jahan from the field, and appointed Sa'adat Khan special envoy to recover the tribute and indemnity which Abu-l-Hasan had agreed to pay. The Khan-i-Jahan, when he appeared before the emperor, was so bitterly upbraided that in disgust at the treatment which he had received he entered into treasonable correspondence with the Maratha Sambhaji, son and successor of Shivaji, who was aiding the Sultans of Bijapur and Golconda, instigating him to fall upon the troops of I'tiqad Khan, Khaja Abu-l-Makarim, and Tahavour Khan, who were conveying grain to the imperial forces.

Meanwhile Shah Alam was still encamped at Haidarabad. Some of the *amirs* of Golconda had joined his army, the presence of which was a menace to the fortress. Accordingly the troops of Abu-l-Hasan, under the command of Sharza Khan and Abdur Razzaq Khan Lari attacked the prince's army, inflicting upon it considerable loss. Shah Alam, still unwilling to make the attempt to reduce Golconda, and deeming the forces under his command insufficient for the purpose, as indeed they were, withdrew, on the pretext that he could not obtain supplies, to Khir, where he encamped. Here he received a reinforcement under the command of Qilij Khan, who was the bearer of a message recalling him to the imperial camp.

Things were not going well with the imperial troops in the Deccan. The siege of Bijapur under Muhammad A'zam, the third son of the emperor, made but little progress, and his troops suffered severely from want of supplies, and from the vigorous attacks of the besieged, and of their allies the Marathas. Sa'adat Khan was sent, as we have seen, with an army to collect the tribute and indemnity due from Abu-l-Hasan, but the emperor wisely determined not to divide his forces by besieging Bijapur and Golconda simultaneously. He therefore advanced in person against Bijapur, taking with him Shah Alam, and arrived before the place on Sha'ban 21 A. H. 1097. (A.D. 1685). Shah Alam was unable to restrain his friendly feelings for the Sultans of the Deccan, and lost very little time in entering into correspondence with the nobles of Bijapur. The emperor, hearing

reports of Shah Alam's treachery, had his attendants watched, and one of them was detected. He was put to the question and implicated others, including Shah Alam, who was sent for and interrogated in private. Although he was guilty of the almost incredible meanness of disowning his agent, his protestations were not believed, and he was treated virtually as a State prisoner.

The siege was vigorously pressed, and at the end of the year H. 1097 Bijapur fell. The king, Sikandar Adil Shah, the last of a royal line, was brought in silver chains before Aurangzib, and was then sent to Daulatabad, where he ended his days in honourable captivity.

Aurangzib was now in a position to give his undivided attention to Golconda, the last of the independent Muhammadan kingdoms of the Deccan. He did not march immediately against the fortress, for on his way thither lay a noted shrine, which his piety could not afford to neglect. This was the shrine of Gisu Daraz Banda Nawaz, the patron saint of Ahmad Shah Wali Bahmani, at Gulbarga, the ancient capital of the Bahmani empire. The emperor duly performed his pilgrimage, but he was by no means so engrossed in the state of his soul as to be unable to find time to attend to worldly matters. Sa'adat Khan has already been mentioned as the special envoy who was sent to Haidarabad with the object of recovering the tribute and indemnity due from Abu-l-Hasan. The emperor sent letters from Gulbarga both to his accredited agent and to Abu-l-Hasan Shah. The latter was dishonestly led to believe that prompt payment of the dues would not only ensure the safety of his dominions, but would secure for him the emperor's special favour. The former received full and concise instructions. He was informed that the emperor was marching on Golconda with the intention of reducing it, but was instructed at the same time to spare no pains in collecting the tribute. Sa'adat Khan faithfully obeyed his master's order and led Abu-l-Hasan to believe that the settlement of his cash account with the emperor would relieve him from all apprehension. The unfortunate king found it impossible to raise the money necessary for the satisfaction of the emperor's demand, but in order to show that he was doing all that he could he asked Sa'adat Khan to send a eunuch who could inspect the royal seraglio and remove the jewels of the women in part payment of the demand. Sa'adat Khan replied that he

could not comply with this request, and in the course of the next few days Abu-l-Hasan received the disquieting news that the emperor intended to advance from Gulbarga. He was now thoroughly alarmed, and collected from his harem sufficient jewellery to fill nine trays. These he sent, with a list of their contents, but without any valuation, to Sa'adat Khan, stipulating that they were only to be retained as a guarantee of good faith. With the trays was sent a quantity of gold on the same terms, which were that the valuables were to be returned in case the emperor's determination to besiege Golconda was found to be unalterable. At about this time Abu-l-Hasan took the opportunity of the emperor's presence at Gulbarga to send him a complimentary present of fruit. Sa'adat Khan, hearing of the despatch of this present, sent for the bearers, and despatched together with Abu-l-Hasan's present the jewellery and gold which had been delivered to him in trust, thus making it appear that these valuables, as well as the fruit, were a gratuitous present from Abu-l-Hasan. Immediately after the despatch of the jewels Abu-l-Hasan heard that Aurangzib was marching towards Golconda with the avowed intention of reducing it. On receipt of this news he demanded from Sa'adat Khan the return of the property which had been entrusted to him, plaintively explaining that he had, by pledging the jewels of the ladies of his harem, sacrificed his honour in the vain hope of saving his country. Sa'adat Khan was forced to admit that he had sent the jewels to the emperor, and endeavoured to excuse his action on the ground that he had no certain news that Aurangzib was marching on Golconda. The defence would have been weak, even had it been true, for by the terms of the pact the envoy was bound to satisfy himself that his master would not attack Golconda before he sent the jewels to him. But there can be no doubt that Sa'adat Khan acted throughout on detailed instructions received from Aurangzib, and it is not easy to understand how some latter-day historians, who represent Aurangzib as a simple-minded bigot, in whom was no guile, can palliate the baseness of his conduct on this occasion towards a sovereign who was, at least, with all his faults, a brother Muslim. It is not surprising to learn that Sa'adat Khan's breach of faith excited the deepest indignation in Haidarabad and Golconda. His house was surrounded by the troops of Abu-l-Hasan and he lived for two days in a state of siege. At the end of

that time he contrived to send a message to the king, in which he admitted that he had misconstrued the terms of the agreement and repeated his false and frivolous excuse. He added that he knew that Aurangzib had long been desiring a pretext for attacking Golconda, that no better pretext than the murder of the imperial envoy could possibly be supplied, and that he was quite ready to die in order to provide that pretext. At the same time he hinted that if his life was spared Abu-l-Hasan need never despair of obtaining all that his good offices could procure from Aurangzib. This message had the desired effect, and the wily envoy was henceforth not only immune from personal danger, but was treated by the deluded king as an honoured guest.

Aurangzib, having finished his devotions at Gulbarga, and having made a short halt at Ahmadabad Bidar, which he had re-named Zafarabad, or the city of victory, marched towards Golconda. Abu-l-Hasan now became seriously alarmed, but still hoped, by timely submission, to secure some measure of independence, and in this hope sent a message to the emperor, humbly asking pardon for past faults and promising amendment for the future. With the message were sent valuable presents. All the satisfaction that he obtained was an imperial *farman*, setting forth his misconduct in severe terms. His base actions, he was informed, were too numerous to be recorded, but it was still possible to mention one in a hundred of them. The commission of all power in the state to infidels, to whom holy Shaikhs and learned men were made subject, the open encouragement of vice, the Sultan's own love for wine, his employment of the infidel Marathas in war, against the holy law of Islam, and the payment of subsidies to "the accursed Sambhaji" were enumerated as offences for which no forgiveness could be expected, either in this world or the next.

Abu-l-Hasan, seeing that his submission availed him nothing, now set himself in earnest to prepare to meet his powerful foe. He sent a force under the command of some of his principal nobles, Shaikh Minhaj, Sharza Khan, and Mustafa Khan Lari,* to oppose the advance of the Mughals, and in bidding them farewell ordered them in the event of victory to use every endeavour to capture the emperor alive, and having captured him to treat him with all honour. The

* Better known as Abdur Razzaq Khan Lari.

amirs replied that they would endeavour to capture him, but could not promise that they would treat him with honour, as they could not trust their feelings. They then marched out to meet the invaders with an army of forty or fifty thousand horse. The imperial army was within two marches of Golconda when the Dakanis appeared in the distance. The latter did not venture to attack, and scarcely offered any serious opposition to the advance of the emperor, but hung on the flanks of the Mughals and committed themselves to nothing more than petty skirmishes. The emperor pressed on, and on the 24th of Rabi-ul-Avval, A.H. 1098 (A.D. 1687) arrived within gunshot of Golconda. Preparations for the siege were immediately pushed on. The necessary material was collected and work was commenced on the batteries and trenches. The Mughals had to deal not only with the besieged within the fortress, but also with the field army of Abu-l-Hasan Shah, under the command of the nobles already mentioned, which took up a position in rear of the besieging force and co-operated with Sambhaji's Marathas in cutting off supplies. At this time a famine, due to the failure of the rains, prevailed in the Deccan, and it would have been difficult for the Mughals to obtain sufficient supplies even had their convoys been unmolested. As it was the imperial army endured terrible privations throughout the siege, while the besieged, who had ample stores of grain in Golconda, lived in the midst of plenty.

(To be continued.)

WOLSELEY HAIG.

THE NAIRS OF THE MALABAR COAST.

HAVING travelled through the length and breadth of India and through a good portion of Europe, I have no hesitation in stating that the Nairs are out and out the most remarkable people I have come across. They are an enigma, a paradox, a bundle of puzzles, or any other word that can be used to indicate the fact that their origin is a mystery, their social customs are unique and their daily life is regulated by a code founded on principles as to what is right or proper or decent, which are peculiarly their own. The ethnographer stands confounded before them. Sir William Hunter, in his "Indian Empire," calls them "aborigines of the West Coast," which, according to his own description of the aborigines, would imply that they are "black-skinned flat-nosed, with squat Mongolian features." They are nothing of the sort. The ethnologist calls them Dravidians, but is puzzled to find them materially differing from others of that race by whom the South of India is peopled. The sociologist, who thinks he has evolved for himself a perfect theory explaining how from a Patriarchal Family a Joint Family was developed, and how this again became the nucleus of a village community, finds his theory scattered to the winds when he meets the redoubtable Nair, for this hero of many battles, unless he is the senior male, is a mere cipher in his *tarwad*, which furnishes certainly the most perfect example of a Joint Family in the world, to which accretions are made by the females, the offspring of the males being always reckoned members of their mother's family. And as to a village community, such a thing is unknown amongst the Nairs. The lawyer, overflowing with a knowledge of ancient and modern jurisprudence, has here to

unlearn his law, for in the matter of inheritance he finds that it is not the widow or children that inherit the property of a deceased person, but his sister's children. The moralist is shocked to discover that amongst these peculiar people no legal tie binds a husband and wife, who can sever their connection when they please, but is aghast when he is told that one of the peculiarities of these Nairs is the high state of their morality. The social reformer who inveighs against polygamy finds here his energies heavily taxed, for he has also to preach against polyandry, for it is as frequently a woman has more husbands than one as a man has more wives than one. The satirist of female foibles, to whom the weakness of the sex for dress furnishes a favourite topic, sits idle on the Malabar Coast, for the Nair lady eschews silk and satins, and indeed all coloured material, and is dressed in pure white calico. The purist, whose ideas of decency may have been outraged in some part of the world by the scanty dress of the demi-monde, would look with satisfaction on one of this sisterhood on the West Coast of India, dressed in a most becoming and modest costume, but how his feelings would be lacerated to find that this what he considers a decent dress is but a badge indicating a woman of easy virtue, for as a mark of respectability a Nair lady is destitute of any clothing from her waist upwards.

What savages ! I hear someone exclaim. Now this is exactly what they are not. Sir William Hunter speaks of them as "a military nobility in the early Portuguese records of the 15th century. They are now distinguished alike for their success in the intellectual professions, as barristers, judges and administrators, and for their manly vigour in arms." If culture and refinement are any test, I have not in any part of India met a body of men in whom these qualities were more actively developed. If the general education of the community is to be a criterion, they have outstripped even the Indian Christians of the South, with all their advantages of mission schools and colleges, and this is a fact the habitués of Exeter Hall may well ponder over. As for their character, a high military official describes them as a military class of Malabar, perhaps not exceeded by any nation on earth in a high spirit of independence and military honour. Who and what, then, are these Nairs? Had Sir William Hunter come into personal contact with them he would not have called

them aborigines of South India. A large body of these are, indeed, to be found on the Malabar Coast, but their swarthy complexions, flat noses and thick lips offer sufficient evidence of the fact that they have nothing in common with the Nairs, by whom they are so looked down upon as to be denied entrance within their temples and even their touch is considered to cause pollution, so that not long ago they would have been cut down if they had approached too near the Nairs, who were the rulers of the land and had practically reduced the lower castes to slavery. But if it be said that the term aborigines is used so as to include the whole Dravidian race by which South India is peopled, even then there is the perplexing fact to be accounted for that the Nair is lighter in complexion, and his features approximate more to the Aryan type than is found to be the case with any of the Dravidian castes, who have been admitted within the fold of Hinduism, quite apart from the fact that he differs from them in the matter of education, social customs, and the usages of every-day life. He claims to be descended from immigrants from the north of India, who came to Malabar by sea, and therefore considers himself distinct from the Dravidians, who were driven by the Aryans across the peninsula ; and certainly, if colour and physiognomy count for anything, there is probably some foundation for this claim.

But perhaps an easier solution of the ethnological difficulty may be found in the same potent cause to which some of the peculiar customs of the Nairs can be ascribed—I mean the dominating influence of the Brahmans. Even in these enlightened times, after a century of British rule, the feeding of a Brahman or making presents to him in cash or kind is supposed to save a man from the consequences of his sins, whereas to speak ill of him is considered a blasphemous sin. A Nair scholar, writing recently of his community, bemoaned the fact of “its social liberties being circumscribed and curtailed, and its sectarian privileges narrowed and smothered by the opprobrious intervention of a priestly class who have ever remained an obstructive element in its national economy, for all the domestic concerns of the Nairs, all their social intercourse, all their liberty of thought and action are regulated by the arbitrary will of the Brahman priest.” But the most curious phenomenon we notice here is the extent to which the Brahmans have allowed their Aryan blood to permeate the veins of the Nairs. In early times all Dravidians were

considered outcastes, and members of the twice-born Aryan race were prohibited, under pain of excommunication, from entering their country. The intercourse between the two races was, therefore, of a desultory nature, and was confined to stray visits paid by ascetics to the south of the Vindhya mountains. That these, with their fair and noble features, a higher civilisation, and the assumed sanctity of their persons, should have been highly honoured in the countries they visited need create no surprise, nor that they should have become the law-makers and advisers of the various sovereigns and chiefs they attached themselves to, and should in return have been richly endowed with the good things of the world. In course of time, whether it was forced by the struggle for existence in the north, or that they looked upon the Malabar coast as a land of promise, fertile and beautiful and rich in resources, a body of Brahman immigrants entered the country, and, as was to be expected, were received with open arms. Endowments of land were made to them with so lavish a hand, that they came to believe, and it has now passed on as a tradition, that the country was reclaimed from the sea for their express benefit by Parasu Rama, one of the incarnations of Vishnu. At least it seems probable that from the outset they became masters of the destinies of the people whom they had favoured with their presence, and who deemed it an honour to be permitted to extend to them their hospitality.

Now the Brahmans brought with them their complex code which regulated their morals, their family life and their relations with other communities. To them a son was a necessity if they wished to prosper in this world, and save their souls from eternal damnation in the next ; hence it was obligatory on them to enter the married state at as early an age as possible. They looked upon marriage as a sacrament, and once contracted it could never be dissolved, and though a wife could be put away for misconduct, she could under no circumstances regain her freedom. It was not permitted to them to contract a marriage outside the caste, and a resort to concubinage entailed the penalty of being either outcasted or degraded. A sacred obligation required a girl to be married before she attained her puberty, though consummation was to take place directly that event occurred. If a child married at five years of age and became a widow at six, she was to remain so all her life, pining for a husband

she had no recollection of having ever seen. Such were the stringent rules with which the Brahman immigrants found themselves hampered on their arrival on the Malabar coast, and they would probably have lived on as did their brethren in other parts of South India as members of an exclusive class to whom anything beyond a formal intercourse with those of an inferior race was forbidden at the risk of degradation, but that circumstances proved too strong for them. They were living in the midst of people of a higher type than the ordinary Dravidian, who excelled in many noble qualities and had made the use of arms their profession, and were land-owners and employers of labour. The exercise of a certain amount of latitude in fraternising with them did not, therefore, entail any great violence to their feelings, whilst it decidedly ~~terred~~ ^{led} to their worldly advantage. They found themselves recognised as a dominant class, liberally endowed with land, which was then the highest form of wealth, and as the exclusive custodians and expositors of the law they were in a position to dictate terms as regards their own relations with these people, as also to formulate rules regulating the social life of the latter. A strict adherence to their own marriage laws would have sooner or later resulted in an undesirable increase of their community, which would have necessitated a partition of their lands, and the consequent loss of their prestige. The Brahmans, therefore, evolved a most ingenious scheme by which, whilst on the one hand they were able to preserve their property from division, on the other hand free scope was allowed them for their sensual indulgence, and if in effecting this object they had to sacrifice some of their cherished principles, why, the end would justify and sanctify the means. And happily for them, the carrying out of their scheme was rendered easy by the fact that in Malabar, as probably in other parts of South India, the relation of the sexes was regulated by a very loose tie, and polyandry was more in favour than monogamy or polygamy. If, therefore, the system which allowed a woman a plurality of husbands was continued, and if the people could be prevented from acquiring any ideas as to the necessity or desirability of a legal marriage with its attendant rights and disabilities, their object would be attained. The Brahmans, therefore, promulgated for themselves an extraordinary rule that only the eldest son in the family was to marry in his caste, the others being left to form connections with the Nair women, without being

called upon to recognise their offspring or undertake any responsibility as regards them. The Nair ladies were delighted to obtain lovers from the high caste Brahman community, and thought it no degradation to live a life of concubinage with them, and even to this day the Nambudri Brahmans are very much sought after by the most respectable families, and indeed the more respectable the family the more popular are such unions, whilst it is only men of this class who are allowed to consort with the princely house of Cochin and of the Zamorin of Calicut.

This peculiar arrangement, which made it incumbent on the younger sons of the Brahmans to form alliances with Nair women, has had consequences many and varied. In the first place, considering that this condition of things has existed for over a thousand years, there can be no doubt that, quite apart from the origin of the Nairs, a good deal of Aryan blood has filtered down into their veins, or at least into those of the higher classes. In several instances I came across individuals who looked more like Aryans than some of the Brahmans who were round about them. In all probability the Brahman immigrants to Malabar found the practice of polyandry prevailing there, and the charge brought against them of having introduced it amongst the Nairs for purposes of their own is not borne out by any reliable evidence, but having regard to the fact that it has almost disappeared amongst classes who rank as savages as compared with the latter, there is good reason for inferring that the priestly class was by no means keen that it should be given up by those with whom they were so intimately associated. Abbé Dubois, a Christian missionary who laboured in South India about a hundred years ago and had acquired an intimate knowledge of the people, speaks of the Nair women as enjoying the privilege of having several husbands, and that the practice has not quite died out is evident from the report of the Malabar Marriage Bill Commission, wherein it is stated that, "If by polyandry we simply mean a usage which permits a female to cohabit with a plurality of lovers without loss of caste, social degradation or disgrace, then we apprehend that this usage is distinctly sanctioned by Marumakkathayam; and there are localities where, and classes amongst whom this license is still availed of." But if the measure of Brahman responsibility cannot be precisely appraised in this respect, there can

be no doubt that it is entitled to be credited in full for having prevented the Nairs from investing their conjugal relations with a legal status, such as is found to exist amongst the meanest tribes by whom they are surrounded. It would, of course, have been suicidal for them to have acted otherwise, for the day the Nairs realise the morality and desirability of a legal marriage, and that concubinage is degrading, the supremacy of the Brahman will be a thing of the past.

It followed as a natural sequence that where polyandry was practised, and where a legal marriage with its attendant responsibilities was not recognised, the property should descend in the female line and through females. The paternity of children being doubtful, they would belong exclusively to the mother, and their home would be ever with her. On her death her children would succeed to her property, but whilst a daughter could transmit her property to her children, a son, not knowing exactly who were his offspring, would be in a fix, and it was therefore very prudently arranged that his sister's children would be his offspring. A devolution of property according to this peculiar method is certainly opposed to the usages of the rest of the civilised world. It is revolting because of its association with a system in which a child was not sure as to who was its father. It seems unnatural nowadays, when polyandry is practically extinct, amongst the higher classes at least, and a Nair knows just as well as any other person that he is the father of certain children, that these should not be able to inherit his property. But if, apart from questions of morality, the matter is calmly considered as to whether the law which regulates succession through the maternal line, coupled with the joint family system, has caused any injury to Nair society, I am by no means sure that the answer must necessarily be given in the affirmative. Apart from hardship in special cases, it matters little if a child has to live in his father's family, where the joint property yields Rs. 5,000 per annum, or in his mother's family, where it is worth precisely the same sum. Under the patriarchal system a man would be entitled to ask for a partition of the property, whereas in a Malabar *tarwad* he is only entitled to maintenance, and even under the pressure of a dire necessity no alienation of the family property can take place without the consent of every member who has an interest in it. In this the Nair has a decided advantage, for the property being

kept intact has ministered to the wants of a larger number of persons than it could otherwise have done.

But the days of Marumakkathayam are numbered, though the probability is it will die a hard and a lingering death. With the advance of education, the increased intercourse of the Nairs with the outside world, and the struggle for existence which is getting more severe every day, the conviction is gaining ground, that a community, to be considered civilised, must adopt the customs which find currency amongst those who claim that title, and repudiate such habits as are looked upon with reprobation, or tend to a reckless propagation of the species. It is this view of the matter which led a certain advanced section of the educated Nairs to seek the aid of Government to pass an enactment which would legalise marriages, and regulate the devolution of property to a man's children, which culminated in the Malabar Marriage Act. I may here mention that, though the relations formed between a man and a woman have no legal status involving any rights or liabilities on either side, and leaving them free to cease their connection any moment they please, yet it is generally admitted that once this connection is formed it is supposed to be for life, and public opinion is so strong against parties taking advantage of the looseness of the tie to repudiate their obligations, that the evils attendant on the peculiar sexual relations of the Nairs are more sentimental than real. For some time past it has become customary for those who have self-acquired property to devise a good portion of it during their lifetime to their wives or their children, or to make ample provision for their maintenance, quite apart from what they might be entitled to as members of their own *tarwad*. But as regards polyandry, so far as the educated and respectable classes are concerned, it has long been a thing of the past. However, this privilege is exercised in certain localities by women of inferior castes, for the Nair is no caste in itself, but is the name of a community which embraces men of various grades or castes, all ranking as Soodras, no doubt, but for all that not necessarily eating with or intermarrying with each other. The original and high-class Nairs were soldiers and landholders, but now all occupations are fairly represented up to barbers and washermen, and it is amongst these polyandry is still found to linger, though generally in the form of one wife being common to two or more brothers. Apart from the Nairs, this is a recognised

institution amongst the Tiers and other inferior castes on the Malabar coast.

But though the respectable Nairs reprobate polyandry, they have, taken as a class, by no means shown a keen desire for any reformation of their marriage customs, for after close inquiry, I found that hardly one per cent., even of the educated classes, have taken advantage of the Malabar Marriage Act. I asked scores of pleaders, graduates of the University, if they had had their marriages registered under this Act, and to the best of my recollection I received an answer in the affirmative only in one instance. The reason of this is obvious. Here we have an attempt made not only to overthrow an institution that has grown hoary with age, but it seeks to upset entirely an organisation in which the female sex plays by far the most important part, and which would reduce them to a secondary position. She is, or the eldest male member of *her* family is, the guardian of her children, she is the mistress of the household, and the devolution of family property takes place through her, and though the Act would confer on her the legal status of a wife, it would at the same time divest her of a good many privileges hitherto enjoyed by her. No wonder she is anything but keen to adopt new-fangled ideas simply on sentimental grounds. And, indeed, if sentiment is to receive any consideration in this matter, a high-born Nair lady has a decided preference to consort with Nambudri Brahmans, which of course will have to be given up. She is, therefore, satisfied with her present position. And then these Brahmans have to be considered also. They exercise a dominating influence on the Malabar Coast. What is to become of the Nambudris? Where are their younger sons to get wives, or rather women who will fill that position without any legal status, for of course there can be no legal marriage between the Brahmans and the Soodras. The influence of the Brahmans is, therefore, also thrown in the scale which favours the continuation of the present system, allowing a woman to form connections without the sanction of a religious or social ceremony or the responsibilities devolving on a legal tie.

It is a curious fact, and a further illustration of the influence of the Brahmans, that the Nair girls go through certain elaborate ceremonies of marriage before they attain puberty, to bring them in a line with other Hindu communities. But these ceremonies are meaningless and

have no legal or social force. They last for several days and the chief item is the tying on the bride's neck of a *tali* or gold ornament of the shape of a mustard seed. The tying of the *tali* is the most essential part of the ceremony of marriage with most of the Dravidian castes, and even the Brahman, whilst going through the ceremonies common in other parts of India, makes this addition to them. But whilst with all the other communities the *tali* is tied by the bridegroom, with the Nairs it is tied by a person called Manavalu (lit., bridegroom), but he is not necessarily the person with whom she has to live hereafter, but is generally a Nambudri Brahman, or the father or a relative of the girl, or even a person paid to do it. Having come across a girl of five wearing this badge of marriage, I casually inquired of one of her relatives whom she was married to, and learnt to my astonishment that though she was married, yet her husband was some unknown person. Once in ten or twelve years it seems this Talli-Kettu (*tali*-tying) marriage takes place in a *tarwad*, and all the girls in the family, even the infant in arms, have to go through this ceremony, either the same person tying the *tali* round the brides' necks, or it may be a separate person doing it for each bride. But it is when the girl attains her puberty that arrangements are made for her Sambandham or union, or bed-marriage as it is called. The man on whom the choice has fallen goes to the bride's house with a few relations and friends and presents her with betel leaf and nut, and in some cases with clothes and money also. Then follows a sumptuous dinner, after which the bride and bridegroom retire to their room, and the latter leaves the next morning, to return again in a few days to take her to his home, or in some instances he takes her away the day after the Sambandham. When the so-called bridegroom is a Nambudri Brahman, the ceremony is still more simple, for he can take no part in the feasting, and all he need do is to present the lady with some betel leaves and nut, or a piece of cloth.

The Nairs are an intensely religious people. As Soodra Hindus of South India they have adopted the religion of the Brahmans, with whom they come so intimately into contact, and indeed a good part of their religious ceremony consists in making presents to the Brahmans with the object of securing salvation from their sins. Fasting and pilgrimages to sacred shrines have also the same end in view, though probably considered not quite so efficacious as bestow-

ing gifts on the priests. Krishna and Siva and Kali are the Puranic deities who enjoy the allegiance of the Nairs, but notwithstanding the fact that they are so dominated by the Brahmans they have not been able to rid themselves of a belief in the Dravidian gods, which is perhaps the strongest argument in favour of their being descended from this stock. Demonolatry is a characteristic of the Dravidian races, and even those of the Nairs who are devoted worshippers of the Hindu gods are not entirely free from it, whilst ancestor worship, animal worship and serpent worship are very commonly practised. Every house has its serpent deity, for whom a sequestered spot in the compound is selected and surrounded with shrubs and trees in the centre of which are stone images of the serpent. But in front of each temple is a mound or platform four to six feet high, built round a peepul tree, and on it are placed one or more representations of the serpent, and men and especially women desirous of obtaining children, may any morning or evening be seen going round and round this tree either in fulfilment of a vow or for the purpose of obtaining some blessing.

There is much that is curious and unusual and primitive about the Nairs, which exposes them to the ridicule of the outside world. That their women in common with others of an inferior caste on the Malabar Coast should go about with their bosom uncovered has laid them open to the aspersion of a want of modesty for which, as a matter of fact, there is no justification. They have absolutely no notion that they are doing anything immodest, but honestly believe that as a mark of respect to their elders they should wear no clothing on the upper part of their body. And this applies not only to women, for men have to do precisely the same thing. The Rajahs of Travancore and Cochin will not permit any of their subjects to approach them unless in this official undress, and I was told even amongst those not so highly placed the correct etiquette for the Nairs is to divest themselves of caps, turbans and shoes and their upper clothing when paying them a visit. But the educated Nair is a law unto himself, and in South India, the land of orthodoxy, he of all other communities has taken most freely to the use of English clothes of the latest cut and fashion. Their ladies also, whatever they might do at home, at least in public have taken to the use of an upper garment which often, however, consists of a piece of white

cloth a yard or two long thrown over the shoulders. The Nair women will bear a favourable comparison taking education as a test. In fact, they are far more advanced than the women of any other Indian community in the Madras Presidency. According to the census of 1891 the Muhammadans can claim only 3 per cent. of their women as literate, the Brahmans 4 per cent., the Native Christians 8 per cent., but the Nairs stand ahead with 13 per cent.—rather an anomaly for those who have made themselves conspicuous by the absence of an upper garment, and of any marriage laws.

Having travelled through nearly the whole of India, I am bound to confess that in the beauty and picturesqueness of its scenery, the Malabar Coast far outstrips any other part of India, and privileged as I was to visit a large number of Nairs, I could not help admiring their pretty houses, each built in a separate compound, which was thickly planted with palm, date and nut trees and tropical plants, all which contributed to render the spot cool and refreshing. The neatness and cleanliness of these houses were most remarkable, and no one belonging to the outcaste classes is ever allowed to enter them. With hardly an exception these houses are built outside the city, and I could scarcely help being amused at an enterprising medical practitioner in Palghat taking credit to himself as being the first Nair to defy public opinion by living in the town. The Nairs are truly a peculiar and interesting people.

ALFRED NUNDY.

EAST AND WEST.

"Oh! East is East, and West is West,
And never the twain shall meet."

HOW many of those who have read these lines of Kipling have paused to ask themselves if this be the enunciation of a truth, or a mere jingling of words? If the former, then East & West is a waste of words, a foolish clamouring for the unattainable. If the latter, what hope is there that time will prove the falsity of the prediction? Will the time ever come when the two great streams of life—the Eastern and the Western—will unite and form one mighty river? Truly, the man who looks upon the India of to-day may be forgiven if he is inclined to think with the poet that "never the twain shall meet." That there are some—not insignificant in number, rank and attainments—who do not accept that pessimistic prophecy, the existence of *East & West* clearly shows. But the bare fact that a creed has some followers is no evidence of its truth or worth. Were it otherwise, all religions must of necessity be true. Where, then, are we to find some evidence that the aspirations of these writers are based upon tangible grounds—are something more than the unprolific dreams of philanthropic minds? To answer this question we must put it aside for the moment and, recognising the fact that the East and West are, at present, not only separated, but mutually repellant, ask what it is that causes this repulsion and then how, if possible, it may be overcome.

One can answer the first of these questions in an off-hand manner easily enough—East and West look at things from a different standpoint—and with this answer most men, if not satisfied, rest content. But we must go further, for in truth this answer is no answer at all, simply a re-statement of the fact at issue. What we want to know is the origin of this difference. Why is it that the problem which to the European mind admits of but one answer, obtains a totally differ-

ent answer from the Indian ? Why is it that the one denounces what the other commends ?

Many years ago, while Sir Lewis Pelly was at Peshawur in conference with the envoy from the Ameer we had a long talk on this subject. We were discussing a letter in which I had criticised the Frontier policy of Lord Lytton's Government, and in reply to some remarks of his, I said in effect, "Yes, that is the English view, but the Afghans will not think so," and told him my views and my reasons for them ; this led him to speak of the ever-recurring difficulty the European has in trying to comprehend the Eastern. From that day to this I have studied this question, always aiming at discovering the essential difference which, hidden from sight, is the true cause of the superficial difference that is so obtrusively evident.

Here in Egypt this question assumes a very peculiar aspect. "My country is no longer in Africa," said the Khedive, Ismail Pacha, "it is a part of Europe ;" and visitors and travellers in the country speak glibly of the "half-Europeanised Egyptians." I have been here for some years, and I have met and I know many Egyptians of all ranks and grades—those who have scarcely, if ever, left their own quarter of the town, and those who speak French and English fluently, have been educated in Europe, have the most polished European manners, and are daily in familiar contact and intimate intercourse with Europeans—but I have yet to meet one that at bottom and in essence is not as thoroughly Egyptian as the most illiterate of the people. I know several who would be indignant at the suggestion that mentally they were not thoroughly Europeanised, who really believe that they think and reason as Europeans, and who are accepted by Europeans as being thus Europeanised ; and yet if one studies their mental condition the controlling feature will always prove essentially and absolutely Egyptian.

It is the same in India. There you have no Europeanised Eastern such as we have here ; yet if we take our best men—of whatever race or creed, Hindu, Parsee, Mussulman—men like Mr. Dadabhoy Nowrojee, who has lived for years in England, Sir Syed Ameer Ali, whose books have placed him in the first rank of English writers, and others—I say, if we analyse their mental processes closely, we find that in the ultimate result they are essentially oriental. The sculptor can shape his marble to what form he will,

but whether he cut it into slabs to pave his hall, or cunningly work it into a statue of most exquisite beauty, he cannot change its nature—it will still be marble, shaped and adorned, enhanced in value, but in the end the same. Note, therefore, that the difference is not one of intrinsic value. The marble is always marble. It is not a question of inferiority. Be he never so able, the sculptor cannot carve the rough-grained granite or the fragile slate into forms of beauty. Even so, if the difference in the mental constitution of the Oriental and of the Occidental were essential, men such as those I have named would be impossible. Education is to the mind as the sculptor's hand to the marble. It can shape and form, but it can do nothing more.

Nor is it between East and West that there is this essential difference. It exists equally and as obviously between the races of Europe. It is a vital element in European politics. It is of all things the one that most hampers and burthens the statesman. In Austria, Ireland, South Africa, Canada—in all directions we see it in operation. "Race feeling," "religious animosities," and so forth, are the terms by which its visible operations are referred to, but these things are in fact the mere externals of the matter; the prime cause of all is the incompatibility of sentiment occasioned by the natural bias of the mind. Educate them as you will, the Frenchman is still a Frenchman, the Englishman, an Englishman. Max O'Rell in one of his books tells us, indeed, that the children of French parents born and reared in England are essentially English in thought and sympathy. I cannot speak from my own knowledge, but I am convinced that he is wrong. I can quite understand and believe that it might be difficult to detect the latent French element in anyone grown to full manhood under such conditions, but I am absolutely certain that it is there, and that only circumstances and opportunity are needed to bring it into play. Yet, whether I am right or wrong in this is not material to the question I am discussing. If we want to understand what it is that places a chasm between the East and the West, we must study the subject as affected by prevailing and not abnormal conditions.

In America the "Negro question" seems to approach more nearly to our subject. There we are often told to look for proofs of the "established incapacity" of the Negro to attain a European or

American standard. I have had only a few opportunities of studying the Negro, but some of these have been exceptionally favourable, and burthened as he is with the weight of all that is implied in his unhappy history and condition, I can find nothing to justify the American conception of him as wholly degraded and hopeless. I can here only refer to one point which shows that however correct Max O'Rell may be as to the case of French boys in England, the same effect is not seen in the case of the Negroes and whites in America. In the "slave states" of the South white children grow up surrounded by Negroes, nursed and cared for by them in unlimited familiarity. Love and affection between the two races is not rare. I have myself seen a fashionable American lady hug and kiss a Negress, calling her "my dear old Mamie," as she had called her in the bygone days when they were child and nurse. But even where this mutual affection exists, even in simple matters the white and the Negro remain mentally apart. They do not and cannot see facts in the same light, much less can they argue in common.

Go where we will throughout the world, we find the same mental incompatibility between different races and peoples, and so far as I can see, this incompatibility seems to me ineradicable, except by the absorption of one or other of the elements. Here, again, there are, if not ample, many and widespread examples to be considered. The Jews in many lands—always a people apart—how far have they preserved unity among themselves? Is the Jew of London or New York entirely in harmony with the Jew of India, of Persia, of Egypt? Again, there are the Malays, the Boers of South Africa, and other peoples in similar circumstances; from the study of these some light may be derived as to whether all men are primitively endowed with similar and equal mental qualities, and all the existing differences are the result of circumstances and training.

To the student of mankind this is, perhaps, the greatest of all questions. It is easy to classify men according to their present condition, to point to the Hottentot as but little removed from the brute creation, to vaunt our Aryan superiority, but the question remains after all, whether the difference is not superficial—the effect of external causes, not the product of the inherent quality. If we could solve this problem it would vastly simplify many others, but meanwhile, coming back from the regions of mere speculation and surmise, we

have to deal with the facts as they are, and the essential fact of our subject is that from whatever causes, the mental processes of the East and West are not in their final analyses alike. To-day, as ever, the European who has studied the East can follow and comprehend Eastern thought to a great extent ; he may in cases go so far as to predict Eastern opinion, but rarely, if ever, can he discover the ultimate basis of that opinion, or trace the processes by which the Eastern attains his Q. E. D. The "griffin" whose cheeks are still tinged with the rosy freshness of his English playground willingly assures you that he can read the natives like a book. The grey-headed, time-worn civilian, looking back on years of patient, earnest labour, sighs, "If we could only understand the people." And it is not only the English who cannot understand the people, but neither can the people understand the English.

Here in Egypt the first thing that strikes the European or Indian who has an opportunity of studying the people is how largely they have adopted European ideas and ideals, but as I have said, the change is in reality on the surface only. Suppress the causes that have produced and are sustaining this result, and very soon little or no trace of it would be left. Progress has indeed been made in directions that must withstand any change, yet these are directions in which the change, though really greatest, is least evident to the superficial observer. It is the same in India. Neither India nor Egypt can ever again be exactly what they have been in the past: Indian, like Egyptian, thought has been modified, and thought is not as the engine on a railway, moving on a rigidly fixed line ; it may regress, but it will not go back over the same track.

There are those who, caught by the claptrap of a flowing phrase, seize upon Mr. Gladstone's declaration that Ireland should be governed by Irish ideas as a key to a sound policy. So we might cry, "Govern India or Egypt by Indian or Egyptian ideas," but immediately we would be faced by the problem of learning what those ideas are. One hundred years ago this question was not difficult to answer ; to-day it has no answer that can take a practical shape. In both countries there are those who cry "forward" and those who cry "back" : which is to be taken as the cry to be adopted ? And thus we come back to the practical point with which we are most immediately concerned, for after all the government of a people is

not the making of councils, or parliaments, or laws, but the development of the people and of their social and political qualities. It wearies me infinitely when I read articles, speeches and so forth in favour of this or that measure of reform, speaking as if the whole future of the people depended upon some paltry issue that can at most have only a collateral influence on their real welfare. "Abolish this, establish that," cry the reformers everywhere, "and the happiness of the people will be ensured," and thus they go on, year after year, pursuing the mirages that lure them from the only route that can lead to success. And all this blundering and hopeless toiling comes—from what? Assuredly from two chief causes: (1) The want of a clearly formed ideal; and (2) the incapacity of the leaders and the led to comprehend each other's thoughts and aims. And this latter is the chief thing to be studied, even as it is the most difficult to deal with.

To bring Western civilisation to the East, to place the Eastern, socially and politically, on a level with the European, is a good and legitimate aim, but it needs definition. Presented in so many words, it is a vague and shadowy ideal, interpreting itself in a hundred ways to as many minds. To reduce the taxation of the ryot, to multiply the commerce and manufactures of the country, to spread education and enlightenment—these and a hundred other objects are good and to be pursued with unflagging zeal. But they are only incidents. If the object we aim at is the ultimate happiness of the people we must go far beyond those things, and while not ignoring them, devote all the best of our force to more important matters.

And first of all, what is the ideal to be? What is the ultimate aim of all our labours to be? On the answer to this all else is dependent. It would be interesting, but not perhaps very profitable to our enquiry, to look back through the ages and see what have been the ideals that at different times and in different places have been held up as the true aim to be followed. If time permitted it would be valuable to trace the actual working of the conceptions that have been more or less tested by practical application. But I must be brief. Coming down through the history of civilisation with a rush, we find the books of the Jews and Christians proclaiming "the earth is the Lord's and the fulness thereof," but in not yet long past times, Jew and Christian alike in practice read "Land-

lord" for Lord, and looked upon the Landlord's interest as the one aim to be pursued. The earth and its fulness, the oxen that ploughed it, the labourer that gathered the harvest—all these were the rightful property of the landlord, and provided he flourished and throve, all was well. Then came the commercial era in which men looked upon the accumulation of wealth as the one great aim of nations and individuals alike. Only in our own day—and as yet not completely—has this ideal been abandoned. It went, for ever, when in England the "living wage" was recognised as an ideal to be attained, and this, so far, is the highest ideal as yet definitely reached. In all ages, indeed, there have been men who have pictured ideal states, but we have to deal with the practical and not the theoretical. Turning then to England, which, with perhaps the exception of her own colony of New Zealand, is now, as always, foremost in social progress,—what do we find to be the ideal prevailing? A glance at any journal of the day is sufficient to show that that ideal is the accumulation of wealth and—to some extent at least—its partition among the people.

Many of the men who have rendered the greatest services to their fellow-men have been, and are, more or less totally ignored by those who have been benefited by them. Such has been the case with Henry George, the American writer whose "Progress and Poverty" first awakened public attention in Europe and America to the fact that the growth in the wealth of nations, the "progress" that was so vaunted, was—inevitably under existing conditions—accompanied by a proportionate increase in the poverty of the lower classes of the people. It matters nothing that in details his views were unacceptable, nor that his proposed remedy has been rejected; his great task was fully accomplished in compelling men to discuss this problem of the parallel increase of wealth and poverty under the influence of the progress of civilisation. It was he who first made men understand that while a country might be steadily acquiring influence, the bulk of its people might be as steadily sinking into abject poverty. Is not this the "prosperity paradox" that is perplexing the students of Indian politics? Is not this the problem that of all others is pressing for solution in India, even as it is daily ripening in other lands? Unfortunately, neither Henry George nor any other writer has solved the problem, but if we are to lend our energies to the develop-

ment of Western civilisation in the East, we must keep this problem in view and found our ideal upon a recognition of its existence.

"The greatest happiness of the greatest number" was once the current expression of the English ideal, and it still may be heard from the lips of laggards in the advance of thought. To-day we may put the ideal of the best minds in the phrase "The best for all"—that is to say, the pursuit and adoption of that course that will benefit all and not merely some of the people. But, accepting this as our theoretical ideal, how are we to give it direct and practical expression?

Surely the answer to this is not difficult. We must first ascertain what is best for each and then how each, by just and reasonable compromise one with the other, may most nearly approach his own ideal without unjust injury to the others. Taking "each" in this to mean each of the many classes and interests to be considered, it will be seen that our ideal may be expressed as—the accumulation of wealth and its equitable partition among the people. That this ideal may be realised it is essential that there should be between rulers and ruled that clear understanding that is so sadly lacking. Without this we can only go on blunderingly and almost at haphazard; with it progress will be sure and safe. Thus we come again to the point from which we started—the incompatibility of Eastern and Western mental processes. For this what other remedy can be proposed than that Indian and Englishman should each strive to understand the other as best he may, and that by candid, open intercourse they may discuss to their mutual advantage all points at issue. In this and in this way only can the science and enlightenment of the West be truly beneficial to the East, and the different races be drawn together in a bond of mutual understanding and enlightenment, as the programme of *East & West* expresses it.

One word in conclusion. It may seem to some that in the latter part of this paper I have gone aside from the question and have confounded material prosperity with civilisation. My reply is that the one is dependent upon the other. If you cannot bring about the material welfare of the people you cannot lift them in the social, moral or intellectual scale to any appreciable degree. A toiling, hungry throng has no hope and no aspiration beyond rest and the satisfaction of its most pressing need. As labour lightens and the

necessaries of life abound, the individual looks abroad for luxuries; in their pursuit, new hopes and aspirations are born, and these again give birth to others, and thus education, the arts and sciences become essentials, or at least essential aids to the gratification of his desires. Thus and thus only can civilisation in its highest form be introduced among a people who from any cause are backward. To preach education and enlightenment to people who are harassed by daily cares is a waste of time. It is idle to tell them that in a future time they can reap a benefit from these things—they have pressing urgent needs that must be attended to. The hungry man demands a crust to-day, not a feast to-morrow. He who has ample may well sacrifice something for a future gain, but the needy man must perforce sell all—even his birthright—to satisfy the want of the moment. Therefore he who would spread education, arts and sciences, must sow, as his first seed, the material welfare of his pupils.

Haji A. Browne.

CULTIVATION OF INDIAN VERNACULARS.

AT present, there is hardly any literature worth the name in any of the Indian vernaculars. All that passes under the name of vernacular literature consists of a few elementary school-books, a few novels and a few poetical works, generally translations or adaptations from Sanskrit authors. But the literature is totally devoid of historical, philosophical and scientific works. This is not to be wondered at. For it is the first law of political economy that the demand begets the supply. There is no demand for works on history, philosophy and science in Indian vernaculars. This is due to English being the medium of instruction in all colleges and schools in India. It is on account of this that the vernacular literature cannot grow and expand.

We may not perhaps agree with those educationists of the twenties and thirties of the last century, who tried to educate Indians in the oriental classical languages only. Nor do we agree with Dr. Leitner and the Punjab School of educationists who advocated the cause of oriental languages simply because they thought that English education was making Indians disloyal. But we do not hesitate to assert that the growth of literature in Indian vernaculars received a fatal blow when Lord Bentinck issued the Government order on the 7th March 1835, in which he declared that :—

The great object of the British Government ought to be the promotion of European literature and science among the natives of India, and that all the funds appropriated for the purposes of education would be best employed on English education alone. His Lordship in Council directs that all the funds which these (previously mentioned) will leave at the disposal of the Committee (on education) be henceforth employed in imparting to the native population a knowledge of English literature and science through the medium of the English language.

Lord Bentinck arrived at this decision after perusal of the "Minute on Education of the Natives of India" written by Macaulay. This Minute lay buried in the Government Archives at Calcutta for nearly thirty years and was made public by Sir. G. O. Trevelyan in 1863. It is well-known that Macaulay considered the natives of India as uncivilised, little better than the Negroes of Africa, or the Red Indians of America. Macaulay wanted to make Indians anglicised. He thought that the safety of the British supremacy in India lay in Indians becoming thoroughly anglicised. With this object in view, he advocated that English should be made the medium of instruction.

Nor was this all. He believed English education to Indians would be of great benefit to England. From his place in the House of Commons, he spoke on Wednesday, the 10th of July, 1833 :—

It is scarcely possible to calculate the benefits which we might derive from the diffusion of European civilisation among the vast population of the East. It would be, on the most selfish view of the case, far better for us that the people of India were well governed and independent of us than ill governed and subject to us ; that they were ruled by their own King, but wearing our broadcloth and working with our cutlery, than that they were performing their salams to English collectors and English magistrates, but were too ignorant to value, or too poor to buy, English manufactures.

Events have proved that he was a true prophet. England has derived more benefit by the diffusion of English education amongst Indians than India itself. English education has created a market in India for English goods. English educated Indians prefer English manufactured articles to those made in India. If Macaulay could come to life and revisit India, he would surely exclaim that India as a market for English goods has exceeded his highest expectations.

It is not only traders and manufacturers who have been benefited by English education imparted to Indians, but English authors also have found a market in India for their works. The late John Bright used to say that as many copies of Shakespeare's works were sold in India, as in England itself. Since then, it is probable that more copies of Shakespeare's works are sold in India than in England ; English publishers and English book-sellers carry on a roaring trade in India. India enriches their pockets.

Again, English firms in India are now managed more economically than before. In former times these firms had to import clerks from England and at great expense. But now good clerks can be secured in India, on a monthly salary which need not exceed two figures in rupees. Thus these firms realise more profits now than they used to do formerly.

To the English officials in India English education to Indians has proved a great blessing. In the days of Ochterlony, Malcolm and Metcalfe, all English officials had to diligently learn and master the vernaculars. But now, such is not the case. They hardly trouble themselves much to master any Indian vernacular, because all the work of interpretation &c., is done by Indian clerks educated in English. The English judges and magistrates in India write their judgments in English and not in vernaculars. The English are not good linguists—none of them has yet earned the reputation of an author in a foreign language. From the perusal of the following, extracted from Sir Charles Dilke's "Greater Britain," it is easy to imagine how the cause of justice would suffer in India, if the English judges and magistrates were to receive no assistance from their English-educated Indian clerks :—

The two favourite Anglo-Indian stories are that of the native who, being asked his religion, said, "Me Christian, me get drunk like massa," and that of the young officer who, learning Hindoostanee, in 1858, had the difference between the negative "ne" and the particle "ne" explained to him by the moonshee, when he exclaimed, "Dear me! I hanged lots of natives last year for admitting that they had not been in their villages for months. I suppose they meant to say that they had not left their villages for months." It is certain that in the suppression of the mutiny hundreds of natives were hanged by Queen's officers who, unable to speak a word of any native language, could neither understand evidence nor defence.

The employment of thousands of Englishmen in the Educational Department in India has been due to English being the medium of instruction in India. These posts would have in all probability been held by Indians, had English not been the medium of instruction. All the school text-books and appliances, such as maps, globes &c., are imported from England, thus enriching that country. English education in India has indirectly stimulated high education in

England, for India provides graduates of British Universities with coveted appointments as Directors of Public Instruction, Inspectors of Schools and Professors of Colleges. Therefore, those Englishmen who advocate that high education should be done away with in India should reflect that such a step would be suicidal to them and would indirectly affect their best interests in India.

India, comparatively speaking, has not been so much benefited by English education as England. To learn the intricacies and niceties of the idiom and grammar of this foreign tongue, Indians have to spend the best years of their life and waste their youthful energies. No wonder that by the time they have taken their University degrees, they lose all interest in literary work. It is due to this fact, more than to anything else, that Indian graduates have not produced any very strikingly original works.

In the third volume of his work on "Hindu Civilisation during British Rule," Mr. P. N. Bose has adverted to the anomalous position of English among the literary languages of India. He has truly observed that there are not sufficient readers to support, appreciate, and honour vernacular literature. There is no chance for an increase in the number of readers of vernacular literature as long as English continues to be the medium of high education in India; consequently, the formation of a high-class vernacular literature is quite impossible.

No less distinguished an authority than Sir H. Maine attributed the intellectual sterility in America to the long refusal of the Congress to grant an international copyright. The want of such copyright effectually crushed American authorship in the home market by the competition of unpaid and appropriated works of British authors, and condemned the whole American community to a literary servitude unparalleled in the history of thought.

The intellectual sterility in India may be likewise attributed to the Indian vernaculars finding no place in the higher education of the natives of India. It is impossible for any community to express their thoughts clearly, intelligibly and forcibly in a foreign tongue. A few gifted individuals may be found here and there who could do so. But they are exceptions. Frederick the Great, surrounded by French courtiers and servants, tried his best to master the French language. But he failed in expressing his thoughts in good French. When he sent his French compositions to Voltaire for correction, the latter

said that Frederick had sent him his dirty linen to wash. Germany is not so far removed from France as India is from England; and the German language bears, at least, more resemblance to French than any of the Indian vernaculars to English. If a German Emperor did not succeed in mastering the idioms and grammar of the language of a neighbouring nation, notwithstanding all the facilities he had at his command, it is idle to hope that Indians would be able to write and speak English like Englishmen, or that English would be the *lingua franca* of India.

A sad mistake was committed when English was made the medium of instruction in India. In his Minute on Education, above referred to, Macaulay wrote, "We have to educate a people who cannot at present be educated by means of their mother tongue. We must teach them some foreign language. The claims of our own language it is hardly necessary to recapitulate."* But Macaulay never tried the experiment of educating the Indian people by means of

* The fallacious logic that underlay Macaulay's minute has been very ably exposed by the late Professor Sir J. R. Seeley. In his work on the "Expansion of England" he wrote:—

"Now over Sanskrit Macaulay had an easy victory, for he had only to show that English had poetry at least as good, and philosophy, history and science a great deal better. But why should there be no choice but between dead languages? Could Macaulay really fancy it possible to teach two hundred and fifty millions of Asiatics English? Probably not; probably he thought only of creating a small learned class. I imagine too that his own classical training had implanted in his mind a fixed assumption that a dead language is necessary to education. But if India is really to be enlightened, evidently it must be through the medium neither of Sanskrit nor of English, but of the vernaculars, that is, Hindustani, Hindi, Bengali &c. These, under some vague impression that they were too rude to be made the vehicles of science or philosophy. Macaulay almost refuses to consider, but against these his arguments in favour of English would have been powerless."

That Macaulay's ignorance of Indian vernaculars was almost culpable has been admitted by one of his co-patriots. The late Sir George Campbell in his "Memories of my Indian Career," wrote:—

"I confess I have always had a certain grudge against Macaulay, when I see how, going out with £10,000 a year to make his fortune in India, he kept reading and re-reading his old friends the classical authors, . . . while we hear nothing of oriental literature. With his immense capacity and memory he might have been a second Sir William Jones. . . . His opinion would have borne still more weight if it had been known that he could himself compare the European literature of which he was so fond with the Persian and other literature of the East. If he had studied India more he might also have avoided the mistakes in his essay on Warren Hastings and other writings on Indian subjects."

their mother tongue. Of course, in his time, none of the Indian vernaculars contained any literature worth the name. But we are inclined to believe that had the study of English been made compulsory, just as French or German is in English schools, and had the medium of instruction been the vernaculars, it is probable that by this time Indian vernaculars would have been rich in historical, philosophical and, above all, scientific works. The process would have been a slow, nevertheless a sure and certain one. We have only to point to Japan. Within the last fifty years, the Japanese have made wonderful progress and Japanese language contains an excellent literature rich in all branches of human knowledge. Japan has achieved all this, because the Japanese employed their own language as the medium of instruction. Japanese graduates never tried to shine as authors in any of the European languages, and they never cared to master the idioms and grammar of any European language, not even of English. Some time ago, the *British Medical Journal* regaled its readers by presenting the following specimen of Japanese English which beats Baboo English very hollow :—

The *Sei-I-Kwai Medical Journal*, which is published by the Society for the Advancement of Medical Science in Japan, is a meritorious publication, from which we have more than once quoted. One part of each issue is in Japanese, which we have no doubt is of the most classical purity. Another part is in English, which in the editorial deliverances is often too clearly of native manufacture. Here is a specimen :

"Diseases of the animal sphere (or the nerves, senses and muscles). Regarding Japanese pathological constitution, writings of medical and ethnographic authors are not lacking in general remarks which are meant to express in the usual sense. . . . It would also be an essential task of the surgeon to separate such easings of the treatment of wounds as really are due to constitutional causes, from the consequences of the possibility that perhaps the causes of infection working against the healing art is some way different extra European countries. . . . The spleen is all malarial, typhus, variola diseases, and in those called splenetid diseases, the seat of strong swelling and all corresponding symptoms. Let us observe here that unusually great swellings of the spleen are seldom found, either in *post-mortem* or clinical examination."

We venture to advise our excellent contemporary to engage the services of an English editor.

All these considerations should prompt us to rectify the mistake

already committed by making English the vehicle of imparting knowledge to Indian youths. Of course, it will not be possible now to undo the working of the last sixty years and more. But in order to succeed in enriching the vernaculars, it will be necessary to create a demand for works of history, philosophy and science in Indian languages.

We think it is quite possible to create such a demand. Of course, in British India, we may not succeed in this attempt soon, but in Native India such an attempt is sure to be crowned with success. It is from the Indian princes that we expect assistance in the cause of vernacular literature. In their territories it is not necessary that English should be made the medium of instruction. Let English be taught compulsorily, but let not the students be made to learn history, geography, philosophy, mathematics and science in English. Vernaculars should be made the vehicle of imparting instruction in these branches of human knowledge. These states could have their own universities, or universities might be established for such groups of small native states for which the Government of India have appointed their agents ; for example, one university might be founded for all the Rajputana States, another for all the Kathiawar States, a third for the Central India States, and so on. This, we think, will be the best plan for educating the youths of native states, and these universities will stimulate high education and enrich Indian vernaculars.

In British India, all business of the State is carried on in English. Hence, there will be a great difficulty in introducing any change or reform in the present system of education. Young men attend schools and colleges with the object of earning a livelihood. They learn English, because they know that by so doing they will be able to get into the Government Service. But our womenfolk go to schools and colleges for the sake of knowledge and knowledge alone. They do not attend Colleges to qualify for Government appointments. Their object is to gain knowledge. Such being the case, it is not necessary for them to be educated through the medium of English. They should learn English as a modern language, but they should not be required to learn history, science &c. by means of English, but by means of their own vernaculars. The University of Calcutta has already made a special concession to female candidates by substituting vernacular languages for classical ones. That University and

other Indian Universities should go further than that, by making vernacular languages the vehicles of instruction for the female candidates. This will stimulate high education amongst Indian women, and also greatly improve Indian vernaculars.

Then, again, in Bengal, there are *to/s* and in other parts of India, there are institutions for imparting Sanskrit education to Brahman youths. These are generally Government-aided institutions. The candidates of these institutions are examined by examiners nominated by Government, successful candidates are given titles recognised by Government. We think these candidates should be examined not only in Sanskrit, but in such useful subjects as history, geography and science. As they do not learn English, for they do not hanker after Government appointments, they should be taught history, science &c., by means of Indian vernaculars. This will again stimulate the growth of Indian vernaculars. It is a truism to assert that the masses of Indian population are quite ignorant of European modes of culture and thought. And this state of things will not be improved unless a demand is created for historical and scientific works in vernaculars. As long as Latin remained the medium of instruction in England, there was no literature worth the name in English, and England did not produce any original thinker or scientist. India will never make any appreciable progress unless Western ways, culture and thought are rendered into the vernaculars and thus made available to the masses of Indian population.

It may be questioned if the Indian vernaculars could possibly express intelligibly the facts and truths and generalisations of history, philosophy and above all, of science. We are of opinion, that the vernaculars are quite capable of so doing. If the Japanese language which, fifty years ago, was not half so advanced as any of the Indian vernaculars, could be made to express intelligibly the facts and truths and generalisations of modern sciences and European modes of thought, we fail to understand why Indian vernaculars should not also succeed in so doing. India was the cradle of philosophy ; Indian vernaculars, derived from Sanskrit, are quite capable of expressing philosophical facts and truths intelligibly.

In the West, the nomenclature of scientific terms is based on the classical languages, viz., Greek and Latin. In India, the nomenclature should be Sanskrit. That Sanskrit is best fitted for the

vocabulary of the natural sciences—botany and zoology—was borne testimony to by the great Sir William Jones. He said :—

“ I am very solicitous to give Indian plants their true Indian appellations ; because I am fully persuaded, that Linneus himself would have adopted them, had he known the learned and ancient language of this country.”

India offers a vast field for the cultivation of natural sciences. India is rich in her flora and fauna. But so far no work on botany or zoology has appeared in any of the Indian vernaculars. The Linnean system of naming plants and animals is not difficult to adapt in Indian vernaculars. If this is done, it will enable the masses to know something of the natural sciences.

To coin a nomenclature of terms used in the physical sciences is not a very difficult task. It should be remembered that the scientific literature of the West has been brought into existence chiefly in the course of the present century. If Western nations have succeeded in creating a nomenclature of scientific terms based on Greek and Latin, there need be no difficulty in our succeeding in creating a scientific nomenclature in Indian vernaculars based on Sanskrit.

“ Every single word in Sanskrit,” writes Professor Sir Monier Williams, “ is referred to a *dhatu* or root, which is also a name for any constituent elementary substance, whether of rocks or living organisms. In short, when we follow out their grammatical system in all the details of its curious subtleties and technicalities, we seem to be engaged, like a geologist, in splitting solid substances, or like a chemist, in some elaborate process of analysis.” (Preface to Sanskrit Dictionary, p. 17.)

Sanskrit is more flexible than Latin or Greek.* Such being the case, a better scientific nomenclature could be provided for Indian vernaculars than the Western nations have been able to invent.

It is hardly necessary to dwell on the importance of the study of natural and physical sciences. Mr. Herbert Spencer writes : “ To the question, what knowledge is of most worth, the uniform reply is Science. This is the verdict on all the counts. For direct self-preservation or the maintenance of life and health, the all-important

* “ Sanskrit . . . a language closely allied to Greek and Latin and even more perfect than the former to express subtle shades of thought and feeling.”—Sir G. Chesney.

knowledge is Science. For that indirect self-preservation which we call gaining a livelihood, the knowledge of greatest value is Science. For the discharge of parental functions the proper guidance is to be found only in Science . . . And for the purposes of discipline—intellectual, moral, religious—the most efficient study is Science. . . . Necessary and eternal as are its truths, all science concerns all mankind for all time."

But as yet, very little has been done to spread the knowledge of natural and physical sciences amongst the Indian population. No scientific literature has yet been attempted in any of the Indian vernaculars. Of course, no original scientific works could be expected, but all that has been done in the West should be adapted in Indian vernaculars. Original investigations in physical sciences require laboratories and museums on a vast scale, impossible for poverty-stricken India to afford. But, as pointed out above, botany and zoology could be easily studied in India. To facilitate the study of these scientific subjects, and thus cultivate the faculty of observation amongst the Indian population, steps should be taken to create a nomenclature of biological terms and write works on botany and zoology in Indian vernaculars.

The importance of imparting the knowledge of the modern sciences to the people of this country, through the medium of their own vernaculars, was recognised by no less distinguished an authority than the late Dr. Ballantyne, Principal of the Benares College. He wrote :—

It is not only possible, but incumbent upon us, to present the sciences to the Indian "Million" in vocables without exception indigenous. . . . Science, moreover, to furnish a useful discipline in education, must be conveyed in language which the learner has the means of understanding to the very bottom. . . . Acting as if under the impression of this truth—that the educational value of terms lies in their connotation and not in their mere denotation—the Germans have indigenated for themselves the language of chemistry ; so that the study is far more profitable, as a mental exercise, for the German villager who knows no language besides his own than it is for the English villager who does not know Greek and Latin. I wish the Hindu to enjoy in this respect the same advantage as the German. . . . Let the study of foreign languages be encouraged to the utmost ; but do not spoil the education offered to the millions by using sense-evacu-

ated foreign terms with a view to the imaginary convenience of the possibly exceptional few. . . .

It may be proper to mention that, during my ten years' teaching in the Sanskrit division of the Benares College, I was able to attract comparatively little attention to the Inductive Sciences so long as I presented the terms in the foreign and uncongenial garb of European speech. But when terms were used whose component parts were significant to a Pundit's ear, then even the ancient native professors, who happened to be within earshot of the lecture-table, pricked up their ears, and begged to know what was meant by this or that new compound term, of which they perfectly understood the component elements. The immediate knowledge of the "connotation" raised the curiosity to learn the "denotation"—"what is the thing to which the name attributes properties so strange?" No such curiosity is excited—it were blankly unphilosophical to expect such—when compound scientific terms are transplanted, without their roots, and stripped of every vestige of connotation. The root of the curiosity being the strangeness of the properties connoted, as in the case of the "green-air" or the "light-giver," it no more exists for the Hindu when the sound *klarin* or *fasfaras* falls upon his ear, than when he overhears mention of x or y in the conversation of an algebraist.

B. D. BASU.

THE VIRGIN'S CHAMPION.

A RUSSIAN LEGEND—XIII CENTURY.

LIKE the furious waves of the ocean have the pagan hordes invaded and submerged the vast plains and green hills, upto the walls of old Smolensk, whose golden crosses and towering roofs seem to hang high over the streaming river. Along the banks and shores, the fires of their bivouacs reverberate and flash by thousands in the Dnieper's deep, dark waters ; and, mixing with the savage yells, the neighing of innumerable horses break the silence of the sweet summer night.

Oh! in what a terrible, hideous clamour of despair and death mount the menacing sounds to the heart of the besieged Christian city! She knows, alas! the fate that awaits her. She knows but too well how the fierce Mongols deal with the conquered, how they burn down and destroy their towns, torture the men, tear the babes to pieces, outrage the virgins and the women generally before slaying them, or tying them two by two with their long hair, chasing them to their camping grounds—a quivering, moaning, fainting flock. This will be Smolensk's doom, as it had been proud Kiev's and rich Vladimir's fate. For her forces are exhausted, her valorous prince is killed, her stoutest warriors fall one after another on the ramparts during every day of the skirmishes and battles.

And the weeks pass on, mournful and dark, bringing new horrors and new despair, famine's green-eyed spectre already arising in the red haze of a near and tragic future. All ways to her deliverance are shut ; no gallant Russian troop can break the iron ring, nor pierce the compact masses of the Infidel squadrons, guarding fiercely and jealously every issue, every path. Verily, her last day is come!

"God is our only hope! Our Lady our supreme refuge!"—So spoke the Archbishop, after the solemn vespers, a few hours

before, in the ancient monastery's Cathedral, whilst the sobbing people lay prostrate before the venerable Odigitry Icon of the Madonna, crying for Christ's mercy and imploring Our Blessed Lady's help.

And the night descended upon the unhappy city, piteously plunging her into a short oblivion of peace and sleep.

Faint and dim burn, in the now silent church, the small, slim wax tapers, in the huge silver candelabra before the dark faces of the old, old icons. The jewelled glory over the Virgin's slightly bent head shines like a big star between the rows of little flames, which many a pious hand has lighted in Her honour. No sound from outside reaches the sanctuary; and only a drop of wax, rolling at times from the candelabra, falls heavily upon the stone floor, or the white-haired sacristan's heart-broken sighs awaken the hushed echoes of the vaults. "O Mother of God! O Queen of Heaven! Take pity upon us!"—he murmurs with a groan, and his eyes turn, full of misery and anguish, towards the grave Byzantine form, looking hieratic and almost stern in the dazzling radiance of her diamond and ruby crown.

But lo! the man has tottered on his faltering legs. His forehead is moist, his hair stands on end, the scream dies out in his convulsed throat. Awestruck, he remains there, motionless, rooted to the floor. Almighty God! The lips of the Image have moved! A ray of life is on her features! Big tears stream down her dusky cheeks! And, suddenly, a Voice rises in the immense nave filling it with a deep, unearthly sound.

Our Lady speaks:—"Leave the church, man, and go straight before thee, in the night, till thou comest to an open door. In the yard thou wilt see a youth with long, fair locks, sheathed in a cuirass, and armed, with hands uplifted in ardent prayer. Say to him, 'Mercury! be quick; Our Lady calls thee.' And you shall both return to my church."

The divine words ceased and the sacristan hastened on Our Lady's errand. But as he went, in the stillness of the streets, he remembered all that the Smolensk men were saying about the beautiful, mysterious youth, Mercury the stranger—for, so he was called by the Prince's warriors and nobles, because nobody knew whence he came; nor did he ever reveal it. Some people thought

he was a Roman ; others a Wariag from the far-away shores of the North : and yet he spoke our language as a native, and confessed our holy Greek religion as the best and most pious of Christians. On the field of battle his valour never faltered ; in peace, his life was as pure as a babe's, and never did he moisten his lips with wine. He was charitable to the poor, pitiful to the suffering, and spent most of his time in mortification and prayer. He spoke but little and when he did speak it was only to praise the Lord, or wish that he could give up his life in martyrdom for Russia's sacred soil and faith.

The sacristan at last reached the wide open door, and as Our Lady had bidden him, he entered the yard. A tall, slender youth stood in the middle. The moonbeams played upon his long fair curls, streaming from under his helmet, upon his brilliant coat of mail and cuirass. His arms were uplifted and his face was glowing with fervour and hope.

"Mercury !" said Our Lady's messenger, "Be quick, Our Lady calls thee !"

The fair-haired youth took off his helmet and crossed himself. "I am ready, man," he answered. And they both returned to the Cathedral, as was Our Lady's command.

A new miracle struck them. The church now was resplendent with lights : the vaults seemed to pour sunshine, the eight-cornered crosses glowed, the diadems of the saints burned with supernatural radiance. Erect on the altar stood Our Lady Herself, Her draperies woven with rays and beams of light, and cherubs and six-winged seraphs trooping around Her in a glorious and exulting choir.

The youth's soul thrilled with joy and fear, and he laid himself prostrate before the unearthly Vision. But Our Lady stretched out Her hand over him and bade him rise.

"My son Mercury ! My chosen Champion !" pronounced the Queen of the Angels ; "I sent for thee. Go and avenge the Christian blood that has been spilt. Go, and all alone, be victorious over the infidel giant Batoo and his pagan hordes. Pursue them as far as the Long Bridge. There thou wilt meet a warrior of unutterable beauty. Surrender unto him thy arms and let him cut off thy head. Take it in thy hands and return to the city, where thou shalt find eternal rest in this my church."

"O Purest Lady ! O Mother of Our God ! How dare I, Thy unworthy servant, accomplish such a great and glorious deed?" exclaimed Mercury in humble awe.

But Our Lady blessed him and armed him Herself with lance and blade, and then bade him go. He prostrated himself a second time and withdrew.

The town was yet asleep, the streets were deserted, not a soul did he meet. But the moon was paling and the dawn was beginning to blanch the eastern sky.

The guards of the city gate were slumbering and Mercury could open the heavy doors without anybody stirring. At the threshold he saw a magnificent white, stainless horse, bridled and saddled. Neighing joyously, the beautiful animal knelt, as if inviting him to mount, and our Hero threw himself in the saddle, all trembling with warlike fire.

"For God and Our Lady ! For Russia and her holy Faith !" he shouted, lifting up high the golden lance.

And the weird horse, as if it had wings, flew like an eagle, carrying his lord off to the pagan camps.

Presently the whole sky is ablaze with the rubies of the rising morn. The plains, the forests, the awakening stream, are enveloped in rosy vapours. Purple rays flash upon the Saint's helmet and blade. Like a hurricane he rushes in among the sleeping Mongols.

Yelling, impetuous forms hasten to their arms in the wild disorder and clamorous confusion of surprise and terror. The giant Khan Batoo rushes half-naked out of his tent and gripes madly at the horse's bridle, waving furiously his formidable sword.

Its point is an inch off the warrior's breastplate, when in an instant Mercury strikes the giant down with his lance. The huge body rolls in the dust, and the fiery courser, passing over the panting corpse, bears the youth away, further and further. Thousands of axes and lances are now lifted against the hero, clouds of arrows fly whizzing around him. But unfalteringly on his right and on his left the fair-haired knight mows and mows down the yellow demons. His face is beautiful in its matchless radiance as if he were St. Michael himself, invulnerable and victorious, on his wonderful snowy horse. Yet, the enemy is too numerous ; and he is all alone ! Many a time already grim Death has looked into his sparkling eyes. But

lo ! in this hour of dread a great, a desperate cry bursts of a sudden from among the Pagan crowds : "Woe ! Woe ! Look up ! Look up !"

In the dazzling glory of the risen day, marvellous and awful, a Woman soars in the sunlit skies. Legions and legions of winged warriors rush through the blinding air, rapid as lightning. Their lances are rays, their arrows sunbeams. They hasten to the rescue of their Lady's Champion.

And the Infidels fly in disorder, horror-stricken, groaning and cursing, covering their faces with both their hands, pursued by Mercury and the celestial squadrons. Thousands and thousands of Pagans perish in the damp, silken grass, and many more are drowned in the abysses and deep currents of the Dnieper.

Abruptly the weird horse stops. A bridge spreads its long narrow planks over the shining waters. A dead silence succeeds, all at once, the hideous noise of pursuit and slaughter. The divine legions have vanished. No living being is seen around, and the sky, limpid and blue, smiles calmly on the peaceful, bedewed plains.

A Warrior appears on the bridge, a Warrior of superhuman and ethereal fairness of form, clad in a silver cuirass and wrapped in a luminous mantle. A crown of brilliant rays adorns his beautiful, uncovered head. He comes to Mercury's side.

"Dismount !" goes the command, and humbly the youth obeys.

"Surrender thy arms and down on thy knees !" Again the youth submits to the stern bidding. His heart is full of an intense joy. For he feels that the crown of martyrdom is prepared for him in the Lord's celestial Home.

And with the very blade that Our Lady had blessed, the heavenly knight strikes off the youth's fair, bending head. The Martyr rises, whilst the marvellous Warrior disappears in floods of unearthly light.

The Smolensk men of arms and the citizens assembled on the ramparts, bewildered with surprise, gaze upon the deserted camps, and are struck dumb by the wondrous unheard-of sight. Carrying in its right hand a fair, pale head and holding in its left the bridle of a white and magnificent horse, a slender youthful body slowly ascends the hill and advances towards the old walls. The corpse, however, does not enter the city ; but, whilst the weird

horse vanishes, it stretches itself by the threshold of the gate and remains there, motionless, in the appalling rigidity of death.

With banners and crosses, with choirs of priests and chanters preceding him in a long and dazzling procession, amidst the harmonies of hymns and ringing bells and the fervent clamours of the crowds, the Archbishop hastens, clad in his solemnest garments and assisted by all his deacons in silver-cloth surplices, with burning censers and long wax tapers in their hands. The blessed Body is to be carried to its resting-place and buried with great honour and pomp.

But, O miracle ! It cannot be moved, and all efforts to do so were vain. The people wept, sobbed and wrung their hands, thinking that they had offended their saintly Deliverer.

Three days passed in mourning and sorrow, and the body still lay at the city gate unburied. The Archbishop, who did not cease to fast and to pray, was in tears and humility imploring the Almighty to disclose to him the awful mystery. And his prayer was heard. A Voice spoke to him from heaven : " O servant of the Lord ! Do not grieve ! He, who gave the victory, will also give the burial."

And during the third night of his pious and hopeful vigil, the Archbishop was allowed to see a wonderful vision.

The darkness suddenly grew luminous and bright, as if with full sunshine. The doors of the Cathedral opened and Our Lady came out, attended by all the seraphims and archangels, with Gabriel and Michael preceding Her. She walked to the spot where the dead Saint lay, and lifting the body in Her arms, She folded him in Her mantle. Then, returning to Her church, amidst Her court of singing angels, Our Lady, with Her own hands, buried Her Champion in the very place where he still reposes untouched by corruption and exhaling a heavenly perfume of cypress and incense.

And when the Smolensk people knew who had buried their blessed Martyr and Saint, they rejoiced in pious exultation and magnified their Lord.

VERA VEND.

THE CENSUS OF THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY.

THE stupendous labour of the task of counting twenty-five millions of people, with due regard to distinctions of age, sex, race, language, religion, education, occupation and geographical position, is evidenced by the three substantial volumes just issued from the Government Press. And in the case of the census taken last year the normal difficulty must have been greatly enhanced by the conditions of plague and famine that then obtained—conditions which, while they made the people difficult to deal with, at the same time bore down the official class with additional labour of a most trying and depressing character. All praise is, therefore, due to Mr. Enthoven and his many coadjutors and his army of subordinates for the admirable work accomplished.

But the pity of it ! Yes, admirable as the work is, considering what the task was, and the machinery available for it, the expression which naturally rose to my lips on putting down the third volume was : “ The pity of it ! ” I mean the pity that work so well done with so much difficulty was not much better done with much less difficulty.

The point of what I have to say may be indicated by one question : Why was the whole census taken on one night ? No doubt that is the original notion of a census—just a counting of heads—the aim being only to get a correct total—that is suitable enough for a small half-civilised state—for Lambok for instance, referred to in Mr. Enthoven’s introduction, where a number of needles, representing the number of the people, was all that was required. But look at the elaborate statements and tables and diagrams that we aim at producing, and consider the careful initial enquiry necessary to make such results really accurate and valuable. But, it will be said, the careful enquiries have been going on for months before-

hand, and only final corrections are made on the night of enumeration. I have seen a good deal of census work in India ; I have seen the census taken four times ; at the census of 1871 I was on horse-back for thirteen hours, and in the streets of different villages for much of the rest of the day and night ; and I am not satisfied as to the efficiency of the ordinary enumerator or the control of the ordinary supervisor. But I need not depend upon personal observations. Let any one take an enumeration sheet and he will see that the enumerator's task is not so very simple. Then let him consider that for every block of 50 houses throughout the land a separate enumerator is at one and the same moment necessary. No doubt education has made progress even in the villages in the last thirty years, but I cannot but think that many incompetent persons must of necessity be still employed. Imagine the difficulty of an enumerator, who may be a man of no influence, and little accustomed to the use of paper and ink, going to a big *wada* where perhaps half a dozen families dwell, and trying to get a sight of each person, including infants, whose name is on his list ; his doubts as to whether one man is not answering to two names ; his perplexity as to whether he should strike off or retain the name of an absentee who, according to one person, will return that night, while another says he will not return for some days ; and so on.

But how different it would be if, instead of the final census being taken in one night, it were spread over, say, a month. Then only competent persons need be employed ; they could be well trained ; and would gain experience as they passed from circle to circle and from village to village. A single small staff with the Mamlatdar or head karkun, or officer of similar rank from some other Department, might do the whole work of a taluka or half taluka or quarter taluka. The actual enumerator would be a man of much better class than he is at present, as, on the above supposition, only one out of every thirty now employed would be needed. Usually, indeed, the enumerator would be the kulkarni or talati himself, already practised in the taking of an annual census of his charge. And instead of having only a supervisor (not always much better qualified than himself) immediately above him, the whole of the staff or committee appointed for the taluka or division of a taluka might

remain in the village till satisfied as to the correctness of each enumeration sheet.

Nor would the proposed method require longer time for its operation than the existing one. Rather the contrary, for the more efficient operators would naturally work quicker than most of those who have now to be employed, and there would be much less correction of errors necessary than at present. There would be no additional work, but finality would be given to what is, under the present conditions, the best work done, and it would not be liable to be vitiated by the confused hurry of the last night of enumeration.

No doubt special arrangements would have to be made for the counting of the few wandering tribes who have no fixed residences. But that has also to be done at present. And if it serves any useful purpose to know how many persons are travelling upon a particular night, that also could be arranged for.

But it seems to me that if we know the number of permanent residents of each town, village, and hamlet, that is all we want to know so far as mere aggregate numbers go. Also that it is more useful to have a record of the permanent residents of any place than a record of the number of persons who happened to be in it on the night appointed for the taking of the census.

In my opinion the aggregate of the totals of the population of each place as recorded with proper leisure by competent persons would give a more accurate grand total than is obtained under the present system. But even if it did not, it is still to be considered how often the grand total is required for any practical administrative purpose as compared with the frequent need to know the permanent population of particular places. Whether it be a question of famine relief, or of a proposed road or railway, or conferment of elective privileges, or any other practical matter, it is the permanent population of particular places that is wanted, and not the total population of so large a unit as a Presidency.

CITIZEN.

AN EASTERN VIEW OF WESTERN SCIENCE.

THE characteristic feature of the modern progress of the West is the great prominence which it gives to Natural Science, especially to its industrial applications. The intellectual basis of the Eastern civilisations, on the other hand, was mental and moral philosophy. The aim of Natural Science, or Western Science as we shall call it, is much the same as that of Eastern philosophy—the good or well-being of humanity. But they differ fundamentally in their conception of the good and the way in which it is to be accomplished. In Eastern, especially Indian, philosophy, it is spiritual or ethical development for which, among other things, a life of more or less ascetic simplicity is requisite. In this respect, it is at one with the Greek or Roman philosophy. No Hindu teacher could have exhorted his disciples to be independent of external circumstances and bodily conditions more forcibly or more earnestly than did the Socratic or the Stoic sage. Even Epicurus, with whom pleasure was the sole ultimate good, maintained the immense superiority of the pleasures of the mind over those of the body, and the Epicurean sage no less than the Vedantic sought for happiness and tranquillity of soul from within rather than from without. The ancient philosopher, Eastern as well as Western, strove to keep the struggle for animal existence to the lowest point of animal necessity in order that one might be free, so far as possible, from the moral corruption incidental to it, and might, if he chose, devote more time and energy to the higher and more arduous struggle for spiritual development than he would otherwise be able to do.

The ascetic tendencies of ancient philosophy were detrimental to mechanical and industrial development to any great extent. The mathematical and physical sciences were not neglected. They were, however, cultivated not as parents of useful arts, but as aids to culture and devotion. The attitude of the ancient philosophers in this respect is well illustrated, though in a somewhat exaggerated manner, by Plato, who valued mathematics chiefly, if not solely, because it accustomed

the mind to the contemplation of eternal truth, and who remonstrated with his friend Archytas for inventing machines of extraordinary power.

It is far otherwise with the Western Science of the present day. It takes but little account of spiritual or ethical life, and seeks to accomplish the well-being of man by mechanical and industrial development, by adding to his comforts and conveniences, by multiplying his wants and desires. One of the most important consequences of this rapid and ceaseless mechanical elaboration and material progress of the age has been to continually raise the standard of comfort in the West, so that what was looked upon as luxury fifty years ago would be barely considered as necessity now; and this has had the effect of spreading discontent, and of immensely intensifying and embittering the struggle for existence among the peoples of the West.

Western scientists are constantly dinning into our ears that the increase of population is the main, if not the sole, cause of the starvation, misery and untimely extinction of a large portion of it. A doctrine more mischievous in its effects or less founded in fact could hardly be conceived. The world has existed for thousands of years, and the pressure of population has never been too much for it. It was not the increase of population in Macedon or France that made Alexander or Napoleon burn for territorial expansion. No. It is vanity, ambition, or inordinate desire for the accumulation of wealth that has ever led the strong, the cunning and the greedy to exploit, oppress, enslave, or decimate the weak and the simple. There was room enough and to spare in America, Australia and Africa for European colonisation, without exterminating or enthralling the simple and, in not a few cases, confiding aborigines, if the European had been less actuated by an unquenchable thirst for material aggrandisement. There is room enough even now in Europe for much further expansion of its peoples if only they were intent upon living more in conformity with the high ethical standard of the noble religion they profess, and were content to lead comparatively simple lives. They would not then need to pursue a career of spoliation, euphemistically called Colonial Expansion, on the pretence of spreading their civilisation among peoples who feel that they can get on well enough, and perhaps even much better, without them.

But the mechanical progress of the age has rendered a simple ethical life almost an impossibility in the West. Work under modern Western conditions with railways, telegraphs, telephones, and a multitude of other ingenious contrivances for condensing a large amount of

work within a small amount of time, causes a wear and tear of the nervous system, the reparation of which necessitates a rather high standard of living; and an infinity of inventions for the gratification of our senses fosters and promotes it. As there is no limit to mechanical development, there is also no limit to the elevation of the standard of living; and ceaseless rise of this standard implies equally ceaseless struggle for the acquisition and accumulation of wealth. Mechanical elaboration has also contributed to the intensity of this struggle by making concentration of capital an indispensable condition of industrial development and commercial expansion on which Western civilisation rests. There has never been a community of any size which has emerged out of the primitive stage of existence in which certain sections have not been ardent votaries of Mammon. But there never has been a civilised society in which Mammonism has been so universally prevalent as in the Western social state of the present day. The high-born as well as the low-born, the educated and cultured as well as the uneducated and ignorant, all are eagerly engaged in the insane race for wealth; and in that motley group there may occasionally be recognised even ministers of religion who know or should know better than other people, that it would be easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter the kingdom of heaven. They cannot resist the influence of their environment. They can no more help being carried along by the tide of material progress than a piece of floating wood can help being drifted by the rushing stream. The manifold evils to which Mammonism has given rise in Western society are too well known to need recounting here; and if they were confined to the West we would watch what we (Asiatics) consider the misguided efforts of our occidental brother for material aggrandisement with sorrow or commiseration. But the same science which has been impelling him to these efforts has, by annihilating distance and placing in his hands diabolic weapons of destruction, enabled him to successfully carry his operations to every quarter of the globe; and his conduct among the peoples outside the pale of Western civilisation sometimes awakens in us feelings which make us shudder.

But is he not among those peoples on a benevolent mission of progress and civilisation? That is the "flattering unction" which he would fain lay to his soul, though I can almost see the lips of the cynical statesman curling into a sardonic smile as he gives vent to such platitudes from the platform. Can any well-informed occidental seriously think that he is benefiting peoples while he is crushing their independ-

ence, smothering their aspirations, destroying their indigenous industries, recklessly and remorselessly depleting their resources for his own benefit, inoculating them with Western vices, and making them "hewers of wood and drawers of water," if not reducing them to a condition undistinguishable from that of bondage? Can he honestly believe that he is ever likely to substantially and permanently benefit peoples whom he hardly ever understands, or cares to understand, except as objects of exploitation, and with whom he can, therefore, seldom sympathise?

The immoral tendencies of the material development promoted by the practical applications of Western Science have been deepened and strengthened by the theory of the "survival of the fittest," which of late has obtained such prominence in Western thought. Instead of being looked upon as a mere hypothesis to account for the genesis of specific forms, it has come also to be regarded, though most illogically, as if it were a doctrine in conformity with which man should live and should behave towards his fellow-man. No biologist of note would openly countenance such a monstrous perversion of his favourite theory. He would be the first to point out, that the "fittest" who may survive in the struggle for existence, whether it be the individual or the nation, may not be ethically the best, but, on the contrary, may often be the very reverse. But, all the same, Western society is so deeply imbued with the evolutionary, which has come to be synonymous with the gladiatorial, view of life, that its estimation of moral qualities is becoming more and more dependent upon the measure of cosmic success to which they may contribute. It is forgotten that worldly prosperity is so seldom and so inadequately apportioned to moral worth, that the cross may almost be said to be emblematic of the life of the good in this world. The moral standard of evolutionary ethics estimates actions by their conduciveness to the "efficiency of the social organism." The ideal indicated by such a utilitarian standard must necessarily be a low one. It tends to develop a certain amount of what may be called commercial honesty and truthfulness, and such qualities as industry and perseverance which should be regarded as qualities only so long as they are not misdirected, but which in the latter case stunt the growth of the higher virtues of self-sacrificing benevolence, charity and mercy. "Ideal conduct," says Herbert Spencer, "is not possible for the ideal man in the midst of men otherwise constituted. An absolutely just or perfectly sympathetic person could not live and act according to his nature in a tribe of cannibals. Among peoples who are treacherous and utterly without scruple, entire truthfulness and openness must bring ruin. If all around

recognise only the law of the strongest, one whose nature will not allow him to inflict pain on others must go to the wall. There requires a certain congruity between the conduct of each member of a society and others' conduct. A mode of action entirely alien to the prevailing modes of action cannot be successfully persisted in—must eventuate in death to itself, or posterity, or both." ("Principles of Ethics," part I, ch. XV). Conformity to a standard of morality indicated by these propositions would result, under existing Western conditions, in a community composed of individuals who would ceaselessly and energetically struggle for the acquisition of wealth, not much hampered by qualms of conscience, who would exploit weaker individuals, classes or races, and reduce them, where possible, to a condition of virtual slavery, and who would be as alert to perceive a wrong as prompt to avenge it.

The ancient line of demarcation between this-worldliness and other-worldliness, between the animal and the spiritual, is not recognisable in the Western moral system of the present day. The moral precepts of antiquity are, it is true, not discarded. But they are interpreted so as to serve the purpose of social efficiency, and are hedged in with qualifications and restrictions which render them practically inoperative as ideals of moral conduct. The New Testament is the recognised moral guide of the Western world, but its cardinal principles are so uniformly and systematically disregarded that they might as well have been erased. Christianity with its high ideal of self-sacrifice and benevolence, cannot harmonise with the commercial spirit of an industrial civilisation like, the Western. If a Christ or a Buddha were to appear now in the West, he would be ridiculed as a visionary by most people. He would not even be considered real enough to be worth persecuting.

Even a philosophic and cultured scientist like the late Professor Huxley, who could not but be fully acquainted with the arduous nature of the struggle for moral development, and the inherent antagonism between it and the struggle for material progress, was so much under the influence of his Western environment, that he viewed the attempts to attain tranquillity and salvation, whether Greek or Indian, which "ended in flight from the battle-field" as the "youthful discouragement of nonage." He would have the Europeans of the present day as

"grown men, play the man,

Strong in will

To strive, to seek, to find and not to yield."

("Evolution and Ethics.")

Man may have been evolved out of lower animals, but for a philo.

sophic biologist like Huxley to assert that man at the present day is "grown man" as compared with man two or three thousand years ago is to assert something for which there is not a scintilla of scientific evidence. Intellectually or morally man is no better now than he was then. The intellectual calibre of a Cuvier or Darwin cannot certainly be said to be superior to that of an Aristotle or Kapila, and as regards ethical development, it would be almost heresy to compare the present with the age that produced a Buddha or Christ. If the ancient sages counselled retirement from the strife and stress of material progress so far as practicable, it was because the greater and more arduous battle of spiritual progress might be fought more energetically and efficaciously, because they held with Buddha

"One may conquer a thousand thousand men in battle,
But he who conquers himself is the greatest victor."

The Western nations are "playing the man," "to strive, to seek, to find"—to find what? Not the victory which is achieved by love, mercy and self-sacrifice, but the victory the path to which lies over broken hearts, if not also over broken heads, over the misery, starvation and destruction of countless fellow-creatures in all quarters of the globe.

The phenomenal mechanical progress of the age has dealt a death-blow to what used to be called cottage industries. No industry on a small scale with a small capital can be remunerative at the present day. Concentration of capital, or capitalism, is the essential condition as well as the necessary consequence of Western industrial development; and capitalism is decidedly not making for moral progress. It has substituted urban for unquestionably healthier rural conditions of life, and has led to enormous inequality in the distribution of wealth. The number of Western millionaires with fabulous wealth has been growing, but in inverse ratio to the number of the abject poor sunk in the lowest depths of vice and misery. The evils of modern capitalism are, indeed, often pointedly referred to—nay, forcibly descanted upon by Western writers. It seems to us strange, however, that they should be blind to the root cause of the evil—the progress of Natural Science; so much so, indeed, that in the same breath will they anathematise the nefarious practices of unscrupulous capitalists and extol the wonderful triumphs of modern science—the very triumphs which create and foster capitalism.

The nature of man may originally have been all good, but, as found at present, it is a curious compound of good and evil. The work of true progress should be to suppress the one and develop the other. The material progress of the West is certainly not doing this. On the con-

trary, its tendency has been to give an impetus to the evil impulses of human nature. We have seen how it is responsible for the adoption of a low standard of morality which may be called the morality of expediency; and this morality is becoming more and more marked in the literature and conduct of the Western nations. The doctrine enunciated by Rümelin, that "the maintenance of the State is superior to every moral rule," is the doctrine which is being more and more largely adopted by every power in the West. The military spirit, which is always prejudicial to true progress, is becoming more and more rampant all over Europe. It has invaded even the clerical, literary and scientific classes. There are warlike luminaries of science and literature as there are militant dignitaries of the Christian church, who from their pulpits invoke the aid and blessing of Heaven on aggressive wars involving the wanton destruction of thousands of fellow-creatures. The armaments of Europe have been increasing apace, and will continue to increase, so long as mechanical science dominates Western civilisation, and material progress continues to be its goal. The great Powers of the West have entered into a compact to partition Asia and Africa among them—a compact not less real because it is not formal, not less immoral because it is necessitated by the pressure of material progress. Markets must be opened up and controlled for the produce of the gigantic mills and factories of the West, outlets must be found for Western enterprise—the whole world must be converted into a happy hunting ground of adventurous and certainly not over-scrupulous Western capitalists. Despotism has joined hands with Republicanism, Liberalism with Conservatism, and Protestantism with Catholicism in the cause of Western expansion and Western domination in eastern climes. Nations which were once foremost in promoting liberty and equality are now busiest in forging chains of thralldom for the weak and helpless peoples of Asia and Africa.

There has never been a golden age. The weak have always been more or less exploited and oppressed by the strong, but never so scientifically, and, therefore, so unremittingly, so extensively and mercilessly as they are now by the Western peoples. Such long-continued, systematic and remorseless exploitation does far more harm in the long run than the casual depredation of a Jenghis Khan, just as the silent though ceaseless action of the meteoric agencies wears away the crust of the earth far more effectively than the occasional cataclysmal convulsions of nature.

Natural Science on its theoretical side has done most commendable work. It has created several new branches of science, and widened

and illumined others. On its practical side also, in medicine and surgery its effect has been to alleviate human misery. But the good thus conferred is confined to a comparatively insignificant fraction of humanity and is far outweighed by the evils wrought by the practical applications of Physics and Chemistry. It is said that Archimedes was half ashamed of those wonderful inventions of his which were the admiration of his age. If modern science were more actuated by this ancient spirit, if it had not lent its aid so largely to material progress, and had kept more within the bounds of intellectual culture and ethical development, we would have almost unqualified praise for it. But its mechanical applications, which form such a fertile theme for exuberant jubilation in the West, arouse in us only feelings of anxiety and apprehension.

ASIATICUS.

THE CHURCH AND BIBLICAL CRITICISM.

(*A Reply to Mr. F. C. O. Beaman, I.C.S.*)

EVERY serious student of history and literature must welcome frank discussion and criticism of the Old Testament ; for what the public require above all other things on this subject is more enlightenment. Mr. Beaman's article was, therefore, timely and useful. Every such attempt to expound faithfully the aims, methods and results of criticism is helpful ; and every frank acknowledgment that these methods are scientific, and that many of the results are absolutely certain, is of real service to intellectual progress.

Human thought has been profoundly modified in many ways by the extraordinary success which science has achieved during the last century in interpreting nature and human life. We have not only thus obtained possession of a large body of new truths ; still more important are the fresh modes of regarding nature and human life suggested by our fuller and deeper knowledge. To science the human family is now a real organic unity, and every aspect of human life has to be studied in its world-wide development. All races are not only related, but are members one of another. The civilising force that works in man all over the world, whether we call it moral and intellectual life, or God, or a stream of tendency, is everywhere the same, and works out an evolution whose features are universally recognisable. Under the piercing searchlight of Anthropology, Archæology, Comparative Mythology and Religion, and scientific literary criticism, there becomes visible in every ancient document things which our ancestors never dreamed of. Whether scientists deal with Egyptian hieroglyphics, Greek pottery, Babylonian clay books with their cuneiform scratches, Zend poems, Sanskrit philosophy, or Hebrew literature, the same kind of results appear. We

are able to trace the rise and growth of ancient society and religion, and to make out the general course of history, more or less distinctly, according to the amount and character of the evidence. The illumination which this wide and patient research has produced is of priceless value for man's intellectual life. No one who has flung himself into these absorbing studies, who has seen order emerge out of the incredible chaos of the materials, and who has known the unspeakable joy of watching the rise of truth in all her heavenly glory and irresistibility, can do otherwise than burst out into praise to God.

Now the Old Testament is a unique literature. Its narrow compass ; its splendid variety ; the extraordinary panorama of history it exhibits through Israel's contact with every great power of the pre-Christian world ; the philosophy of human history implicit in its pages from beginning to end ; and the fact that Israel was the only people in the ancient world that produced a real ethical monotheism—these and other characteristics make it the most fascinating subject of scientific study in the whole range of human literature. For all the problems of religion are not only involved in it, but find their central difficulties there ; and the value of the historical evidence contained in the book is sufficient to draw the eyes of every scientific historian. Consequently, every particle of light obtainable from any science has been used to illuminate the old book ; and the interest roused by these scientific inquiries has been extraordinary.

The chief result of this application of scientific criticism to the Old Testament has been the complete overthrow of a large number of Jewish traditions about the date, authorship, and composition of the books—traditions which Christian Hebraists took over from Jewish teachers. Many of these were late Rabbinical ideas, and were accepted from Jewish scholars during the middle ages without much question or inquiry ; others are much earlier, and date from the time of the great Scribes, or possibly even from Ezra himself.

Another result is a modification of our ideas about the character of certain forms of Hebrew literature. Much which seems to us to be in historical form was not meant by its writers to be received as verbally accurate history, but as practical religious literature founded on historical materials. Serious history, too, was written in ways other than ours. Old books were frequently incorporated in new

books, and the new incorporated in newer ; and no one ever thought it necessary to distinguish the different portions the one from the other. Such compositions were anonymous ; or the name of the most prominent man in the book was affixed to it, rather to distinguish it from others, than with any thought of assigning it to his pen. The same process of conglomeration was followed in editing the utterances of the great prophets, and also in making collections of proverbial sayings and religious lyrics. The aim of these editors and collectors was practical and religious, not historical and scientific. These facts of literary history serve to explain much that is otherwise obscure in the Old Testament.

As a result of this fresh knowledge, and of the literary analysis which necessarily followed these discoveries, the traditional history of Israel has had to be modified in several important particulars ; and certain portions of literature, which used to be read as history, are now seen to be religious lessons thrown into narrative form, or even myths, that have been purged from their original paganism and uncleanness, so as to be fit vehicles for monotheistic truth.

A further and still more important result has been a fresh consideration of the doctrines of Inspiration and Revelation, and the formation of far richer and more spiritual conceptions on these great questions. But this point will come up again later, so I need say no more about it here.

Now much that Mr. Beaman says in exposition and in defence of this new learning is wise and welcome ; but practically all that he says as to the relation of criticism to the Church and to theology, is thoroughly misleading.

1. Thus, any outsider who reads his article will inevitably come to the conclusion that the critics are a small group of German scholars, all of them anti-Christian, or at least very heterodox, who have been endeavouring to get the Christian Church to accept their theories for the last half-century, but have been all along contemptuously repelled by the orthodox party. This is no empty, foolish surmise on my part : the editor of the *Bengalee* is just such an outsider, and came to precisely that conclusion, as any one may see from his leading article published on the 15th of August.

Now what are the facts ?

The pioneers of Biblical criticism were Frenchmen and Germans,

and even to-day a large proportion of the best critical work is produced in Germany; but it is very far from being confined to Germany. A large number of the very best scholars are found in England, Scotland and America. But much more important than the question of nationality is the question of faith; and the striking thing here is that the great majority of the critics are Christian men, professors of theology or ministers of churches. A certain proportion of them, especially in Germany, have strong rationalistic leanings, or belong to the Ritschian school of theology, which is hardly recognised as orthodox in England; but even on the continent the majority, and in Britain and America nearly the whole body, of critics are orthodox Christians, holding official positions as professors or clergy in some denomination. Thus in Britain the leading critics to-day are Driver, Cheyne, Ryle, Stanton, Kirkpatrick, of the Church of England, Smith, Skinner, Kennedy, who are Presbyterians, Davies, a Baptist, Adeney, Bennett, Gray, who are Congregationalists, and Banks and Davison, who are Wesleyans. Now not one of all these front-rank scholars would be considered other than orthodox, with the possible exception of Cheyne. And the only other outstanding Old Testament critics in Britain are a single Unitarian, and perhaps two Jewish scholars. Thus practically the whole work of Old Testament criticism is carried on at present in Britain by orthodox Christians. Or, to look at the matter another way, you will scarcely find a professor of the Old Testament in any University or any Theological College in Britain now, who does not hold by the new criticism.

The real fact is that during the last twenty years the education of the Church on this subject of Old Testament criticism has proceeded with great rapidity. So far from the recent history of criticism being an object lesson in clerical intolerance and stupid conservatism, it is perfectly clear to any one who knows the facts, that the new learning is being absorbed and accepted with wonderful rapidity. As I have already shown, the leading teachers in all the Churches to-day are almost to a man on the critical side. It is also perfectly plain to any one who watches closely the trend of events, that the Church leaders in all the denominations are now very largely in sympathy with the movement. It would be difficult to decide what proportion of the clergy of the Church of England hold critical views;

but amongst the Presbyterians of Scotland, and the Free Churches of England (and Nonconformists are now at least as numerous in England as Churchmen), there cannot be the slightest doubt that the younger men, almost without exception, are on the scientific side, and that a very large proportion of the older men also have been convinced. Only three months ago this was made perfectly plain to all men in the case of the United Free Church of Scotland. The most prominent Old Testament scholar in that church, since the death of Professor A. B. Davidson of Edinburgh, that prince and pioneer among critics, is Professor George Adam Smith of Glasgow. An attempt was made in the General Assembly held in May to bring him under censure for his latest critical work, *The Preaching of the Old Testament*; but by a large majority the Assembly decided to leave him in perfect freedom. This is a most noteworthy thing; for Professor Smith has thus not only received public and official permission to publish his critical theories, but also to train the divinity students of the United Free Church College in Glasgow in the critical way of regarding the Old Testament; for he is Professor of Hebrew in that college.

That I am not merely making assertions, but am putting down sober facts, will become perfectly plain to any one who will look at the theological literature that is being bought by the clergy of Britain to-day. The publication of Hasting's *Dictionary of the Bible* has just been completed, a great new work in four large volumes, which accepts, and exhibits in detail, the results of critical examination of the Old Testament. Now, if the attitude of Christians in Britain to criticism were as Mr. Beaman believes it to be, this scholarly work would have been violently condemned by all the leading religious journals. But the Dictionary has not only been warmly recommended by all the chief literary and historical magazines, but also by almost the whole of the religious press. Before me there lie appreciative notices from *The Guardian*, *The Pilot*, *The Critical Review*, *The British Weekly*, *The Methodist Times*, *The Expositor* and *The Expository Times*. Then, if orthodox Christians are so opposed to criticism, who, pray, are the people who buy the volumes of the *International Critical Commentary*, or of Paul Haupt's beautiful *Polychrome Bible*? To whom have seven editions of Driver's *Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament* been

sold ? And how are the editors of the *Cambridge Bible for Schools* so foolish as to allow full-blown critical theories to be put into the hands of English boys ? See especially Job, Isaiah and Ezekiel in that excellent series.

The fact is that the Christian Church in Britain is being gradually taught critical science as applied to the Old Testament. Already the professoriate is almost altogether critical ; a large proportion of the ministers have come over to the same side ; and the education of the laity has been begun ; for there are numbers of intelligent laymen to be found everywhere who have come to see the scientific certainty of critical methods.

2. It is quite true that the educational process is not yet completed ; and so, from time to time, protests are raised both publicly and privately against these critics and all their works. But the gathering at Oxford which Mr. Beaman mentions was in no sense official : it was merely a meeting of individual churchmen who had a common fear of criticism. It has had, and can have, no result. But to judge from Mr. Samuel Smith's pamphlet and the Oxford conclave that the Church is opposed to criticism, is to make a grave mistake ; as the facts I have brought forward prove.

Further, there is no need to conjure up the ecclesiastical and other reasons which Mr. Beaman has thought of, to explain the position which these good men take up against criticism. Their attitude of mind is perfectly easy to understand. Evangelical Christians know the Bible to be a book of simply infinite value for morality and spiritual religion ; but they know also that its utility depends upon its being regularly, trustfully and prayerfully used. Now, at first sight, the Higher Criticism seems to make it impossible to regard the good Old Book in the old trustful way. It seems to leave the Bible in tatters. Thus men who do not understand criticism, but know the Bible to be immeasurably more valuable than any other book in the world, very naturally jump to the conclusion, that the Higher Criticism is pseudo-science, that it is merely another of the many vulgar attacks which have been made on the Bible from time and time, and which have had a vogue for a while, but only to fall into sudden and utter oblivion. There can be no question that such is the way gentlemen like Mr. Samuel Smith and Sir Edmund Cox regard criticism : it

is neither clericalism nor obscurantism that keeps them from accepting criticism, but a genuine conviction that it is unscientific, and will soon be shewn to be groundless. The steady advance of clear conceptions on the whole subject, and especially of clearer ideas on the subject of Inspiration, will in time turn these honourable foes into grateful friends.

3. It seems to me that Mr. Beaman himself, in spite of his loyalty to criticism, is still in the dark ages so far as the question of Inspiration and Revelation is concerned. The mechanical theory of verbal Inspiration, which most of us were taught, when we were children, was a product of the 17th and 18th centuries. The leading Reformers held a much freer and more spiritual conception; and indeed the same is true of all the greatest men of the Church in all ages. And so one of the most precious results of modern criticism has been the evolution of freer, truer, more helpful ideas about these great questions. God inspires men to speak religious truth, not to calculate chronology, nor to give details of prehistoric geology and history. Revelation is a revelation of God, His holiness and His love. As it comes through imperfect men, the books in which they inshrine it are imperfect; but the treasure is none the less priceless. I must not, however, elaborate a theory of Inspiration here; but will content myself with referring readers to a few critical books, which will help them in this question. See especially Sanday, *Inspiration*, Briggs, *The Bible, the Church and the Reason*, Denney, *Studies in Theology*, p. 202, *The Expositor* for October 1894, Hastings, *Dictionary of the Bible*, Vol. I. p. 295, Horton, *Revelation and the Bible*.

4. Another point on which Mr. Beaman parts company with the critics is his estimate of the value of the Old Testament. He seems to think that the Church might drop the book altogether without serious loss. He has the idea that it got its place in the Christian Church only because of its use for apologetic purposes, and has kept it only through the reverence it has won from hoary tradition. Now to any one who has eyes it is perfectly clear that the Old Testament got its place in the Christian Church, because of the religious value it had for Christ and His Apostles. It was their only Bible; on it their souls were fed. Further, it is this practical value of the Old Testament that has kept it in its place in all the

churches of modern times. Who can over-estimate the religious value of such a book as the Psalms, or the moral worth of such narratives as form the bulk of the historical books? There is simply no literature in the world to compare with them, if we keep the New Testament out of sight. The unique power and value of the good old book has been acknowledged quite as frankly by students of the sacred literature of India, Persia and China as by any. That a cultured Englishman should write as Mr. Beaman has written, is amazing. But that one who accepts modern criticism should so write, is altogether incomprehensible. For the critics are never tired of praising the Old Testament; and criticism has made the book infinitely more luminous, and therefore infinitely more valuable, than it was before. See especially G. A. Smith, *Modern Criticism and the Preaching of the Old Testament*, Professor B. A. Davidson in the *Expositor*, January 1900, Darmesteter, *Les Prophètes d'Israel*, Sanday, *Inspiration*, pp. 150-155, Robertson Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, pp. 74-75, 80-81, *Faith and Criticism*, pp. 38-47.

5. Mr. Beaman's theory of the relation of the Old Testament to the New is quite as uncritical as his estimate of its value. He dares to write: "There is, in fact, no more similarity between the teachings of the Old and New Testament than between Muhammadanism and Buddhism," and again, "these two diametrically opposed bodies of ethical teaching." Such statements make one gasp. For, if there is a clear case of normal and natural evolution in the whole range of religious history, it is to be found in the relation of the religion of Christ to the religion of Israel. It is quite true that at first sight there is a great difference between them. But there is a great superficial difference between the bud and the flower, between the chrysalis and the butterfly, between the Roman Republic and the Roman Empire. External differences should not blind thinking men to the inner facts. The Christian Church has always taught, what Christ himself taught (Matt. 5, 17-18), that the revelation made to Israel was a sketch of the truth, which Christ came to fulfil, that the grand outlines of Christianity were already laid down by Moses and the prophets. And modern criticism has made the truth of this position absolutely plain. Every critic worth the name will be found to subscribe to these words of Dr. Fairbairn:—

"The New Testament is built on the Old, and apart from the Old could not be. The God that is Father in the New is Sovereign in the Old, and the new Fatherhood cannot be divorced from the old Sovereignty. The grace that came by Christ implied the law that came by Moses; and if Christ redeemed from the law of Moses, it was that He might reconcile to the law of God. And so, if we are to understand the New, it can only be by coming to it through the Old. It is as we find the Old in the New that we discover the New in the Old, and realise that all the mercy and the grace that appeared in Jesus Christ implied and required all the holiness and all the righteousness that came by Moses and the prophets."

Herman Schultz, the greatest German authority on Old Testament theology, says, "There is absolutely no New Testament view which does not approve itself as a sound and definitive formation from an Old Testament germ—no truly Old Testament view which did not inwardly press forward to its New Testament fulfilment."

Let readers also turn to Edward Caird's *Evolution of Religion*, Vol. II, in which the finest philosophic mind in Britain deals with this great question in detail. But we need lean on no authorities; with the conception of progress, or evolution, in our minds, we have only to run through the great heads of theology to find that the teaching of the Old Testament with regard to every one of them is the foundation on which New Testament teaching stands.

There are other statements made in the article which might be dealt with in a similar fashion; but perhaps enough has been said to shew that the Christian churches of Britain are not the dens of darkness Mr. Beaman would have us believe them to be; that the Higher Criticism is being accepted by the Church with wonderful rapidity; and that the results of criticism are not found to be destructive of the Christian faith, nor even of the belief in the inspiration of the Old Testament.

J. N. FARQUHAR.

THE TERM OF THE INDIAN FINANCIAL YEAR.

POSTPONEMENT to this Autumn Session of discussion in Parliament of the Indian Financial Statement for the years 1900-1-2 is understood to have been agreed upon on terms suiting both sides of the House. The special circumstances making this unusual course convenient in the present instance are in all our minds and there is no occasion to reproach anybody because of it. Nevertheless, the forthcoming debates at Westminster on an ancient statement placed before and reviewed in the Supreme Legislative Council at Calcutta early in March last, also at a period when Sir Edward Law's next deliverance is almost within sight, serve to accentuate the oft-repeated demand for some definitive change which will enable the House of Commons to exercise its responsibilities in respect of the financial policy of the Indian Empire at such early period of the Session as may allow of its members discharging this imperial duty with intelligence and deliberation worthy of themselves and of the High Court of Parliament. Proposals for new arrangements to this end are by no means new, though often put forward intermittently, and without adequate consideration of the circumstances of modern times or of the supposed difficulties to be removed. These, as also the history of the subject, were dealt with, probably for the time, with any approach to completeness, in the Memorandum which was placed before the Royal Commission on Indian Expenditure, in 1900 and portions of which are quoted below :—

That the prompt presentation of the Annual Statement of Accounts was regarded by the framers of the Act of 1858 is evident from the precise directions given to that effect in Section 53 and this is the more notable seeing that the Indian financial year at that period ended with April 30th. The change made in 1867, when it was set back to March 31st, was obviously intended to facilitate the purposes of that section ;

but experience has shown that the end has not been, and cannot be attained with the present plan.

It is scarcely needful to remind the Commission of the chronic dissatisfaction that exists because of the late period in the Session at which the Financial Statement now comes on. It is a standing reproach on our system of imperial management that the financial affairs of our great dependency are, year by year, submitted to Parliament under circumstances that render review futile and intelligent control by that body quite impracticable. This has been admitted by successive Secretaries of State, and is the subject of annual complaint by the public here; while from the Indian standpoint it is often spoken of in terms of despair. This position of affairs is in no way due to the Government of India or its Financial Department. The Statement is usually laid before the Supreme Legislative Council at Calcutta before the prescribed date—this year it is to be presented on March 18th. Every exertion is made there to have the returns sent in and the figures brought up to date. All this effort fails of its object because of the period in our Parliamentary Session that arrives before the accounts can be issued here as parliamentary papers. Then the months that elapse between that presentation and the date when the attention of the House can be secured by the Secretary of State's exposition necessitate ever recurring revisions and supplementary figures which unavoidably bewilder Parliament itself. Of late years these difficulties are slightly modified by their being met in the "Explanatory Memorandum" which is, in itself, a most valuable compendium. But this again is often subject to further revision in the Secretary of State's personal and authoritative final submission to the House when it is asked to pass what has come to be a mere formal arithmetical resolution.

To revert a moment to the Act of 1858; Section 52 prescribes with much foresight and precision the duties of "the Auditor of the Accounts of the Secretary of State in Council," but the delay already described defeats, to a large extent, the objects of that Section, namely, to enable Parliament to exercise its functions of timely and intelligent control. This consideration, it is submitted, is one of grave constitutional moment and was so regarded by the framers of the Act.

If, however, the term of the Indian financial year were made to coincide with the calendar year, many of the above described mere circumstantial difficulties would be obviated to a great extent, so that Parliament would be enabled to apply itself to its high imperial duty of exercising supervision and control over those large financial interests of

India which cover and dominate all the vital issues of Indian polity. The Finance Minister's Statement could be made in the last week of the old year, or the first in the new year; it could come to this side with all its details by the end of January. It could be printed and audited during February. The single word "May" in the Act being altered to "March," the object of the framers of the Statute of 1858 would be fulfilled, under the terms prescribed: "The Secretary of State in Council shall within the first fourteen days during which Parliament may be sitting, next after the first day of *March* in every year, lay before both Houses of Parliament an account of the financial year preceding that last completed, of an Annual Produce of the Revenue of India distinguishing &c., &c., &c." It need not here be considered whether the exigencies of domestic parliamentary business might or might not still interpose delay as is now the case in disregard of the terms of the Statute. Parliament would, under the change proposed, be "seised" of the material which the Act orders to be placed before it; the members would have that in their hands, and the British public would have its responsibility in respect of the condition and fortunes of India and its peoples fully and conveniently placed before it through the press.

The advantages that this change would afford in India itself are obvious and practical. The Statement would come before the Supreme Legislative Council early in the season, whilst the Governor-General, all his Executive Council, and heads of Departments are assembled at the capital, at the time of year when both themselves and the "additional" members of Council are best fitted to deal with serious public affairs. It will probably be found on enquiry from the present and former Finance Ministers and their colleagues that this course of dealing with the even calendar year would afford greater facilities in collecting and arranging the returns and statistics than now obtain in dealing with the last quarter of the year ending March 31st. Some years ago when an eminent Finance Minister was apologising for the uncertainties that now arise in adjusting the "Regular" statement, he pointed out that several of the largest items of Indian revenue have to be collected or brought to account in that last quarter; hence there is hurry and strain that render errors and omission unavoidable. Thus many of those tedious revisions alluded to in paragraph 3 would be obviated. By way of illustration it may be mentioned that the Railway Administration Report—now covering nearly the largest portion of the whole financial situation—used to be made up conterminous with the calendar year, and

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was made more intelligible thereby. Latterly it has been, under pressure, because of the present awkward period, assimilated to that term.

Possibly some departmental objections may be raised to the change suggested because of usual official disinclination to any alteration in plan and date. If, however, it should be seen that substantial advantages are to be secured, as above set out, such objections would have but little weight with your Commission, in comparison with the imperial objects that may be secured by such change. One incidental excuse may be raised on the score of continuity of statistics. This did arise in connection with a former change of term when one month was cut off, leaving 1886-7 only eleven months. But, in this case, it is quite different. One even quarter could be easily adjusted, and with the calendar year once adopted, statistics would fall into regular consecutive order.

It only remains to summarise the advantages that would accrue from the easy and effective change in date and procedure that is here proposed :

(a) The season at which the Finance Minister's Annual Statement would be dealt with in India is one more convenient than the present for all concerned ; while far better opportunity would be given for free and intelligent discussion of the expenditure and fiscal aspects of the Statement than is now afforded to the non-official members of the Council, including the Anglo-Indian merchants and other independent members.

(b) The Statement could be *printed* here*, audited,† and otherwise dealt with, at a much earlier period in the year than is now possible, revisions and corrections being reduced to a minimum.

(c) Members of both Houses of Parliament would be enabled to give that serious and periodical attention to Indian finance which was intended to be provided for by the Statute of 1858.

(d) There would be no excuse for the House of Commons postponing its imperial duties in this respect to the fag end of the Session when, as under the present plan, these duties are scandalously slurred over and neglected.

(e) By presentation of the accounts from three to four months earlier than is now the case, Parliament would be enabled to get a grasp of the subject, the annual parliamentary review of Indian Finance

* The occasion of this minor cause of delay has since been obviated by the sensible plan of printed copies of the statement and proceedings now being sent ready for India.

† There is as yet no provision for "auditing" the Indian accounts here ; though the Home expenditure is strictly audited here, under Section 53 of the Act of 1858.

would become a reality, so that something of a judicial character would be given to the proceedings in this matter of imperial moment, and that effective control intended by the Statute of 1858 might be secured.

I have to admit that the Select Committee of the House of Commons on Indian Revenue and Expenditure which sat during two or three Sessions 1871-4 finally decided not to recommend the change from March 31st to December 31st as the date for the term of the Indian Financial year. They did so under their then impression that "the House *can by altering its own arrangements*, without inconvenience to itself, afford a sufficient opportunity for an adequate discussion on the finance and affairs of India."

Permit me now to submit that, seeing the House has made no "alteration in its arrangements" in this regard, and that the evils of delay, so fully recognised by the Committee, have since been grievously increased, experience has now shown that the expectation expressed by the Committee has not been and probably could not be fulfilled. Therefore, it is not only open to the Royal Commission to re-consider the proposal for change of the Indian Financial year on its merits, but highly desirable that this should be done, if the noble Chairman and the Members recognise the grave and urgent considerations which indicate the necessity of that course.

These considerations are very inadequately set out in my Memorandum; but allow me to refer to paragraph 7 of the Select Committee's Report in which is emphasised the great necessity and obligation on Parliament to exercise "supervision and control" over Indian financial affairs. In making reference to this paragraph I must dissent from the opinion of the Committee that "the House of Commons is not called upon to record the proceedings of the Governor-General of the Council." As your Commission is aware, this is just what the House does each Session, but in the barren form, as remarked by the Committee "of passing a Resolution in Committee recording merely the results of by-gone accounts."

Then, as to the extraordinary opinion expressed by the Committee that the House of Commons is not called upon to review "the financial proceedings of the Governor-General in Council," this view must have been taken in momentary forgetfulness of the provisions and tenour of the Act of 1858. In reference to this essential consideration I feel confident that the Commission will recognise the weight of the statutory obligations of the Act in this respect, and, on examination, acknowledge the cogency thereof. Hence it will be seen that the proposal of the

Committee to apply "supervision and control" only to the disbursements of the Secretary of State in this country—vitally important as that is—fails to comply with the requirements of the Act. In effect, and as understood by the House, it does make an effort, however imperfect, to supervise the whole financial affairs of our Indian Empire—which effort fails because of the casual and circumstantial difficulty which, as already shown, would be greatly lessened by the change in the terms in the Indian financial year as proposed in my Memorandum.

It will be observed that in their paragraph 6 the Select Committee express the opinion that "no arrangement will prove satisfactory which does not admit of the appointment of the Committee on the Indian accounts, *within the first three weeks of the Session*—a recommendation that is repeated in closing the same sentence. This very reasonable requirement goes further in respect of early date than I venture to go in my Memorandum: but I may submit that this practical suggestion of that influential Committee emphasises all that is advanced in my Memorandum in respect of the constitutional obligation and the high political expediency of securing presentation of the Indian Financial Statement at a very early period of the Parliamentary Session. It having been my duty to follow this and kindred subjects during a long course of years, the conviction is strong with me that such beneficial course cannot be secured without setting back the Indian financial year to the Calendar term.

As remarked above, the definite proposal to set back the Indian financial year by three months, an even quarter, has frequently been made; and one instance is the letter presently to be quoted from, which appeared in the *Economist* in the eighties. The passage may be useful even now, as it partly anticipates certain objections and presents the matter in more popular form than would have been permissible before those grave, if not reverend, signiors, the Royal Commission. The earlier portion of the letter was occupied with comment following the *Bombay Gazette* on one of the Transfrontier adventures of the period; after that the writer proceeds:—

But my object just now is of more restricted scope. It is to fix attention on one practical point in financial management, in respect of which your remarks have elicited response from the other Bombay daily, the *Times of India*, as set out in your last Saturday's issue. That is the period for making up the annual financial statement in India. This

question, thanks mainly to your criticisms, is now brought within narrow and definite compass. To your suggestion that as, according to the Under-Secretary's plea, March is the most difficult month in which to ascertain the exact figures, the statement might be deferred to April or May, the Bombay writer, in ironical vein, states an insuperable solid objection. He says the proposal to keep the Members of Council, Secretaries of the Finance, and the spending departments—their wives, sisters, and cousins—in the sweltering heat of Calcutta, is quite "too awful to contemplate."

Letting the sarcasm pass, it seems to me there is an obvious solution of the difficulty which would meet the case all round. It is this: Why not resolve to make the Indian Financial year coincide with the calendar year? The annual statement could then be presented soon after the Christmas holidays, whilst the whole Government of India is located in Calcutta. It is true that the Viceroy is occasionally on tour at that time; but this could easily be arranged. By this course the discussion of the statement in open Council—with or without new taxation bills, as you very properly urge—could be facilitated under every proper condition. No doubt dinner parties and balls are also just then rife, in the "city of palaces;" but the "dancing men" need not count in the serious business of reviewing the financial and fiscal policy of the Indian Empire. This change would be more easily effected, and would be much more convenient than the alteration in the financial year that was made in 1867, when it was set back from April—causing that year to figure as "eleven months," which makes it a baffling blot in any nice scrutiny of the continuous finance statistics of India. For the first year of the change an exact three-quarters of the year would have to be dealt with, the figures thus being easily divisible. The bug-bear of the large transactions of March would thereby be effectually disposed of. Sir John Gorst pleaded that even in August it is impossible to get perfectly accurate figures as to the year that ends on 31st of March, but by December such accuracy as is possible could certainly be obtained. The railway accounts are already made up for the calendar year: this in itself is a strong argument in favour of the change. Then consider how greatly this long required adjustment would assist Parliament in dealing with the Secretary of State's definitive statement, the presentation of which might then be insisted on to be no later than March at Westminster. This arrangement would restore parliamentary control over the Indian finance. It would infuse fresh vigour into the efforts of those members who feel and desire to give effect to the

responsibility which really rests on the British public in this first-class branch of Imperial business. Having myself during many years had the duty, as a journalist, of reviewing the annual statements, I feel some confidence in affirming that there is no tangible difficulty in making the change suggested, and the *Economist* will have the credit of initiating the salutary and practical reform.

Now let us consider the steps so far attained, and the prospect of this practical business-like reform being carried out. It is something that the public, though perhaps not the departmental mind, has been so far familiarised with the plan as to admit that it is feasible ; more telling is the fact that this is one of the few definite proposals that the Commission, as a whole, accepted and recommended in paragraph 69 of their unanimous Report. When we consider, on one hand, Lord Welby's very cautious cast of mind, and on the other the large departmental experience of most of his colleagues, their pronouncement must carry the greatest possible weight with the authorities for whose decision only this reform waits. But there is an inner line of obstruction to be dealt with and overcome. Under the influence of some of these, Lord George Hamilton seems to have allowed himself to hesitate. On two occasions in the Session of 1901 by the members for Wolverhampton and Denbighshire respectively (see *India*, 1901, April 5 and August 10) the Commissioners' specific proposal was placed before him, *i.e.*, "The Indian Financial year should end next December 31st, in order that the Indian accounts should be laid before Parliament at an earlier date than now." But his lordship's answer was not only of the futile melancholy sort, it was weakly evasive. Instead of frankly meeting the Commissioners' authoritative recommendation, his lordship wandered back to the Select Committee of 1873, and misrepresented their opinions, as will be seen by anyone who compares the exposition thereof in the paper placed before the Royal Commission with the Indian Secretary's misleading version. That incidental disclosure of the India Office departments' attitude of passive resistance is so far of use as indicating the obstruction that will have to be overcome before Parliament can have any fair chance to deal intelligently with the Indian accounts. This subject is now in form to be dealt with, and it may be hoped that H. E. Lord Curzon, with his usual promptitude and energy, will arrange to carry

out the Royal Commission's well-considered definite proposal. This is now not a question to be argued about, still less for a beseeching attitude. It may fairly be put in this way: those who really desire that the British Parliament should exercise its statutory duty and imperial responsibility in regard to Indian finance and the policies that dominate India's financial future must insist on this long needed change in the term of India's year of account being carried through at the earliest date practicable, say, by December 1903. Those who do not care for or are averse to the principle of parliamentary supervision and control will oppose this change, and by this sign must they be known. Thus such obstructionists will mark themselves off.

W. MARTIN WOOD.

THE INDIAN RYOT: HIS TREATMENT BY EAST AND WEST.

CLAIMS TO CONSIDERATION OF THE INDIAN RYOT.

INDIAN ryots, on several accounts, eminently deserve our sympathy and efforts on their behalf. They form the great bulk of the population. With agricultural labourers and others dependent upon the soil, they number about two hundred millions—a vast mass of humanity. The indispensable usefulness of their labours is another ground. Without their toil, India would starve. “The king himself is served by the field.” Their good qualities entitle them to our assistance. As a rule, they are hard-working; their fields are models of careful cultivation; with a single exception they are frugal; they are honest, holding themselves responsible not only for their own debts but for those contracted by their forefathers. Their weaknesses are another claim. They are ignorant, blindly following custom or being led by an astrologer. Like the rest of their countrymen, they cannot resist the temptation of extravagant expenditure at marriages. The helplessness of these poor dumb millions should excite our pity. Educated Indians and Europeans can bring their grievances before Government and the public; ryots must endure in silence. Lastly, their treatment by the British Government loudly calls for redress.

Notwithstanding their hard lot, their tendency is to increase beyond the means of subsistence. At the census of 1891, the population to the square mile of six districts is given below:—

Azamgarh	... 805	Mozufferpore	... 903
Ballia	... 805	Patna	... 852
Darbhanga	... 840	Sarun	... 930

Mr. Crooke thus eloquently describes the condition of the ryot:—

There is, perhaps, no more pathetic situation in the whole range of human history than to watch these dull, patient masses stumbling in their traditional way along a path which can lead only to suffering, most of them careless of the future, marrying and giving in marriage, fresh generations ever encroaching on the narrow margin which separates them from destitution. Anxious statesmen peer into the mists which shroud the future, and wonder what the end of all this may be.

Well may it be said, "*Anxious statesmen peer into the mists which shroud the future, and wonder what the end of all this may be.*"

DIFFERENT TREATMENT BY EAST AND WEST.

The difference arises from

"That deep-rooted tendency which there is in the Anglo-Saxon character to Anglicise everything with which it comes in contact."

Hindu and Muhammadan Governments recognised that they had to deal with *ignorant Indian ryots*; the British Government has sought to treat them as *educated English farmers*.

Some proofs of this will now be given.

CULTIVATION ADVANCES.

TREATMENT BY THE EAST.

It has been the custom of all classes in India, for untold generations, to live from hand to mouth. No provision is made for the future, and borrowing is the universal resort. The Native Governments knew this, and dealt with their subjects accordingly.

The following account of the Takávi System under Native Rule is abridged from an article by Mr. Arthur Harington, late of the Indian Civil Service, in the *Calcutta Review* (Vol. 76), entitled "*Economic Reform in Rural India*" :—

State advances to cultivators were a feature of the revenue system introduced in 1582 A.D., by Akbar's great minister of finance, Raja Todar Mal. The revenue officer of those days, when the true business of a collector seems to have been understood a good deal better than it is now, was instructed "*to consider himself the immediate friend of the husbandman . . . he must assist the needy husbandman with loans of money; and receive payment at distant and convenient periods . . . Let him learn the character of every husbandman, and be the immediate protector of that*

class of subjects." (Gladwin's *Ain-i-Akbari*, quoted in *Calcutta Review*, Vol. 44, p. 378.)

Todar Mal's system was "only a continuation of a plan commenced by Shir Shah," who "was intimately acquainted with the revenue and agricultural system of India—a knowledge without which no ruler of that country, whatever his abilities may be, can hope to do justice to his subjects." (Cowell's *Elphinstone*, p. 541, and Erskine's *India under Babar and Humaiun*, III. p. 442). Shir Shah's system, again, was based upon "the old rent-roll of that unacknowledged originator of all later Indian revenue systems, Sikandar bin Buhlol (Lodi) (Thomas' *Pathan Kings*, p. 437). It is therefore probable that from a much earlier period than that of Todar Mal's reforms, state advances had formed an integral part of the imperial revenue system. This probability is greatly increased by the fact that one of the highest and earliest expounders of the Muhammadan law, Abu-Yusuf (born A.D. 731) prescribed such advances.

Shah Jehan's vizier, Saiadulla Khan, "the most able and upright minister that ever appeared in India" (Elphinstone), combined the duties of Amin and Foujdar in one person, and appointed him Superintendent of a chakla (or circle) of several parganas. . It was his business to encourage agriculture, to *make advances*, station watchmen over the ripening crops, and report when any indulgence and leniency appeared expedient. This system lasted during the time of Aurangzeb, and till the dissolution of the Empire (Elphinstone).

A firman of Alamgir's, dated 1668 A.D., addressed, soon after his accession, to the Diwan of Guzerat, directs that the land revenue shall be collected in the mode and proportion enjoined by the holy law and the tenets of Huneefah as laid down in the following articles:—*First*, you will deport yourself towards the ryots with kindness and humanity, and by wise regulations and practical expedients encourage them to extend their cultivation so that no land capable of being rendered productive, may remain uncultivated. *Secondly*, at the commencement of the season you will ascertain whether the cultivators are employed in their cultivation, or appear inclined to neglect it. If they possess the means you will induce them to cultivate their lands by encouragement, and to those who require assistance you will afford it. . . *Should it appear that the cultivators are incapable of furnishing the means of cultivation you will assist them with money, taking security for the same.* (Selections from Harington's Analysis, 195.)

There were, no doubt, grievous failures in many cases in carry-

ing out these admirable instructions, but they were exactly suited to the circumstances of the ryots.

TREATMENT BY THE WEST.

English farmers do not receive advances from Government for cultivation expenses. Why should they be given to Indian ryots? If they want them, let them go to the money-lender.

The British Government found the Takávi System in force for at least several centuries; but they largely discontinued it except in the case of Opium cultivation.

The Takávi System why discontinued?—Mr. Harington says:

I have been unable to find any satisfactory record of the reasons which led to the discontinuance of the *Takávi* system. Probably the chief causes were the growth of the Company's indebtedness, and the increasing difficulty of providing the annual remittance to England; the disorganisation produced by the exactions of the early revenue assessments; the want of effective supervision; and after the Charter of 1813 had relaxed the Company's commercial monopoly, the competition of advances by private capitalists.

Effects of the Stoppage of Advances.—The Cawnpore Settlement Report by Mr. E. C. Buck (now Sir E. C. Buck) says:—

*The idea of Government being the money-lender to the agricultural classes is an indigenous one. Yearly advances of large amounts were made to the Zemindars of this and other districts by the Nawab of Oudh's Government and the practice was continued for some years after the cession of the provinces by the British Government. . . The Government was to the community what the heart is to the body. The sudden stoppage of what must have been to the agricultural body corporate its life-blood, while the system of periodical bleeding was continued, had the same effect which similar treatment would have upon the human frame. The members of the community, whether of the first or second degree, have been driven to procure sustenance from another and external source, and the money-lender has taken the place of Government.**

Through the action of the British Government, ryots have been thrown for more than a century on the tender mercies of the money-lender, involving an untold amount of misery.

* *Calcutta Review*, Vol. 76, p. 172.

AGRICULTURAL BANKS, THE PROPOSED SUBSTITUTE BY THE WEST FOR TAKAVI ADVANCES.

The hardships of the ryot under the present system are admitted. The Anglicised West proposes to remedy them by the *Establishment of Agricultural Banks*. Agricultural Banks, it is allowed, would be a great improvement upon the money-lender. It may also be said in their favour that they tend to develop self-help. While they should be established where circumstances are favourable, they totally fail to meet the necessities of the case. Because after years of effort they have had a certain amount of success among educated nations in the West, it does not follow that they are adapted to this country.

Agricultural Banks in India are liable to the following serious objections.

I. THEY CANNOT BE ESTABLISHED ON THE REQUISITE SCALE.

Mr. Nicholson, their great advocate, makes the following admission :—

Success can only arise for the long-continued practical efforts of zealous men who, while informed in the details of every method yet tried, can yet live among the people, vivify them with their own spirit and intelligence, energise them with some of their own enthusiasm, and with them, work out in actual fact, even though on the humblest lines, the system or systems of the future. (Vol. I. p. 32).

How many such zealous, well-informed men are to be found in India, willing to devote their energies to the establishment and working of Agricultural Banks ?

II. THERE ARE GREAT DIFFICULTIES CONNECTED WITH THEIR MANAGEMENT.

Some of them are the following :

1. *Difficulties about Capital*.—According to the “Note,” Government will lend at the first to the Central Banks, but such loans will be only “temporary expedients.” “The well-to-do, influential and educated classes,” shareholders and depositors, are eventually to supply the funds.

To meet the wants of India a working capital of 300 lakhs of rupees, or twenty millions sterling, will be required. Where is this to

be found? Take also the case of the Central Provinces and some districts in Western India. It would be almost mockery to ask the people to raise the requisite capital.

2. *The great danger of Fraud.*—Even in Banks under skilled European management, with well-paid subordinates, serious losses sometimes occur. The danger would be immensely increased in the case of a hundred thousand Banks mostly among ignorant ryots, whom crafty educated men could easily overreach.

3. *People will not invest money in the Banks unless their credit is guaranteed by Government.*—Savings Banks receive numerous deposits because they are perfectly safe; but it would be different with Agricultural Banks. *The Hindu* says:

One other point to which we earnestly draw the attention of His Excellency Lord Curzon is the necessity for the Government guaranteeing the credit of the proposed banks. Unless this is done, we fear, the proposed scheme will prove once more a melancholy failure. (Dec. 6, 1900).

Such a guarantee is impossible. Government, to give it, would require to control the management, involving endless trouble and expense.

4. *The difficulty about Securities.*—The Banks would require some security for their loans. What can ryots, hopelessly in debt, give? It is to be expected, too, that money-lenders will offer all the opposition they can to the working of Agricultural Banks. It will require all the resources of Government to withstand them.

III. GOVERNMENT COULD ALLOW MUCH MORE FAVOURABLE TERMS THAN AGRICULTURAL BANKS.

To obtain capital, the Banks would require to borrow. Government can get money at $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.; the Banks would pay at least 5 per cent. The Central Banks are supposed to yield a profit to the shareholders, although this is not to exceed a certain maximum.

Mr. Harington states the case in a nutshell:—

"Government can borrow money more cheaply than any one else, if capital has to be raised by borrowing, and it alone would seek to make no profit out of the transaction but merely to pay working expenses and secure itself against loss."

IV. ONLY THE RESOURCES AND MACHINERY OF GOVERNMENT CAN FULLY MEET THE NEEDS OF THE CASE.

As already mentioned, the working capital necessary has been estimated at twenty millions sterling. While it would be impossible for Agricultural Banks to raise such a sum, Government would not have any difficulty. At $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. the annual interest on this would be £700,000—less than half the Famine Fund. Government might claim $6\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. interest (one anna in the rupee a year), amounting to £1,250,000. The difference, £550,000, would largely pay for agency. Even if it did not, the benefit to the ryot would be an ample return. It would be a great boon to have so much cheap capital thrown into the country.

Instead of attempting to introduce an exotic, whose growth is not very old in its own habitat, would it not be better to revive the cultivation of a plant which flourished for many centuries all over India, and which still prospers in certain parts of the country?

SATISFACTORY WORKING OF OPIUM ADVANCES.

Mr. Harington quotes the testimony of Mr. T. W. Holderness, Under-Secretary to the Government of India, Revenue and Agricultural Department, dated 4th March, 1882 :—

The magnitude of the transactions of the Opium Department is shown by the fact that the sum advanced annually aggregates two hundred lakhs, or two millions sterling. . . *In ordinary years advances for opium growing are recovered with hardly any loss, and the system may be regarded as the most successful and effective one by which, in India, the State comes to the aid of the agriculturist.* (pp. 178, 179.)

Contrast with the above the collapse of Agricultural Banks in Mysore. Those successful in the United Provinces were, as a rule, on Wards' Estates, under unusually favourable circumstances.

Only Government has the Capital and the Machinery requisite to meet the wants of the case. A gradual return to the old system is strongly advocated. Let the present Advances be extended so as to include Cultivation Expenses.

J. MURDOCH.

CHUNI THE SUTTEE.

A STORY OF HINDU LIFE.

*(Continued from the last number.)**Chapter V.*

THE PEACE OF THE MOTHER.

IT took no long time for Chuni to become mistress of the house and the good angel of the family, though the necessity of observing the *purdah* placed no inconsiderable drawbacks in her way. Chuni could speak freely to her husband only in the *rang mehel* or Pleasure Hall of the house between the hours of 10 P. M. and 4 A. M. and she had to pass the rest of the twenty-four hours of the day in the *barsal*, the kitchen, and the *mandir* or family chapel. The greater part of that time she was busy either performing her own domestic and spiritual duties or superintending and directing the servants or looking after the wants of the members and guests of the family—and these latter were never wanting in the house of the Desai. There were in this way at least twenty-five souls under her charge—fretful children and critical old dames, guests who stood on ceremony and servants who were apt to deal with the contents of the store-room without any ceremony.

Chuni, however, was a born housewife, and had a wonderful genius for management. Thanks to her patient industry, unflinching tact and winning courtesy, within a couple of months critics became coadjutors, grumblers began to thank, and confusion was replaced by order.

The Desai-en was relieved from her active duties: the family Puranik and Sastri nourished her mind with thoughts of the other world by their readings and expositions, and every afternoon the *chok* was full of eager listeners.

If Chuni was successful as daughter-in-law, she was no less successful as wife. By obeying she ruled: by being silent about her own needs and claims, she got them recognised all the more readily when others pleaded on her behalf: by being devoted in her service of Master Desai, she taught him how to be devoted to her. When custom had made her dumb, she tried by letters to save him from his companions: now when she had the liberty to speak to him, contrary to his expectations, she ignored all that might lead to unpleasantness and seemed as cheerful, happy and appreciative as if she had never discovered a flaw in him. She shared his feelings and the feeling grew upon him that he should save his own character and reputation. He avoided the company of his former associates, who observed the change that had come over him and left him one by one.

When the time came, Chuni went to her mother's house, in accordance with custom, and when she returned to her husband with her boy of four months old, it was to see the Desai-en in her last illness. Chuni's absence had increased the worries and responsibilities of the old lady and had told on her health. She was now happy and wished to be called away from this world. Her son had been reclaimed, her daughter-in-law had returned, and she had seen the face of a grandson. The old Desai, on the other hand, was growing weaker and thinner every day: what greater happiness could she desire than to die with the saffron mark on her forehead, and surrounded by a growing family? The wish operated on her nerves, and its realisation was not far off. Only one thing remained to complete her bliss, and that was that her grandson should be betrothed. So the baby *was* betrothed to another baby. When her end was approaching, the old lady called Chuni, with her child, to her bedside: "My dear child," said she, with a smile on her lips, "do you remember my telling you in the *chok*, when you first came to this house as the betrothed of my son, that I should be happy to die thus? That moment has now arrived. You have made my son worthy of my womb. You are the prop of our house. You are no longer Chuni; every one here, at my bidding, will henceforth call you Rani (Queen)." Chuni blushed for a moment but presently her cheeks were bedewed with tears. "Say not so, mother," sobbed the girl; "You will surely live until this baby grows up; we shall long require your guidance." "Ah, the baby smiles," observed the lady; "but I cannot, and I had better not live longer. There is one burden upon my soul, will you relieve me of it?" "What may it be, mother?" stammered Chuni, looking up and staring at the lady through a film of tears. The Desai-en with a supreme effort went on to describe how the affairs of a once prosperous and universally respected family had latterly been undermined by new laws and a new generation of men, how her husband's heart had well-nigh been broken, how her stupid son was incapable of struggling with the waves that were dashing against the ancient house, and she ended solemnly and earnestly by asking Chuni to take care of the Desai as long as he was alive, and to guide his heir wisely and safely through all troubles. The exhaustion was too much for the lady. Her husband, son and other relations were hurriedly called in.

She cast a longing, lingering look on them all. "Will you take care of my husband and son, Chuni?" "Yes, I will, may the Peace of the Mother Goddess be with thee!" sobbed the person appealed to. "I am well enough. Don't be anxious about us." "Say Narayan"—cried the faltering voice of the old Desai. The dutiful son poured a spoon of sacred water into the mouth of his expiring mother. "Narayan! Narayan!"—and the curtain dropped on the world of mortals, and the Spirit was borne aloft amid the cries and lamentations of men, women and children.

Chapter VI.

THE SAVIOUR OF THE FAMILY.

The death of the Desai-en was mourned by all but her husband whose reply to all that came for condolence was simply this: "I too

shall follow her soon." To Chuni the bereavement brought a new and heavy load of responsibilities. To the young Desai it came as the first severe blow in life, and its pain could be assuaged only by seeking in Chuni that fountain of affection, solace and advice which he had invariably found in his mother. He began to pity his father too, but the old man seemed to be above pity from anybody: he asked that all his servants and even his son should pity only one person in the house and that was Chuni behind the *purdah*. Twenty times in the day he would inquire through the servants, what health she kept, whether she had taken her food, what that food was, and so on, and a dozen times every day he would send for her baby and play with it. He felt his days were numbered, and his one great desire was to follow his departed wife as early as Heaven might ordain. He called together his clerks and servants one day and enjoined them to acknowledge his son as their Desaiji in future, to receive all orders from him and the Rani Sahib while he himself would remain in the house as mere Bapaji or father. He showed the new Desai and his wife the secret rooms and subterranean vaults where the safes and boxes containing the cash, jewellery, valuable clothes and other articles, and confidential documents of the family had been secreted in safe seclusion long anterior to the days when the revered Sati of the family immolated herself on the funeral pile. He impressed upon the couple with what toil and care the hoard had been accumulated and asked them to hand it on to posterity even as it had been handed down to them. From that day forwards, the Munim submitted his accounts to their new master and the Rani jointly. Though Chuni had received no school education, nor any systematic training in the management of an estate, her natural talent enabled her within a short time to follow the Munim's figures and the transactions referred to by him, and Bapaji realised more and more clearly every day that the position and prestige of his family would be safe in the hands of his daughter-in-law. One day he even passed his hand over his grey moustache and asked himself why he should not give himself the satisfaction of launching his suit against Government before dying, but the old fire had gone out of the Desai's heart and he resigned himself to the inevitable. During the few days that were left to him on this earth he divided his time between hearing the Puran and Kirtan of holy men and the lisplings of Chuni's baby. His last illness was very brief. He refused to take any medicine,—Narayan Hari, he said, was his medicine—and the only nourishment that he allowed to pass down his throat was a few spoonfuls of the sacred water in which the family god had been washed. As his end was approaching he called his son and daughter-in-law to his bedside and with the consent of the former, who was in the natural course entitled to keep the keys of the vault and other receptacles of treasure, delivered them into the hands of Chuni. And when the summons came from on high, he took leave of the darkening world cheerfully and entered the brighter regions beyond.

During the thirteen days that followed, there was in the Desai's house breast-beating by women, various funeral ceremonies, and the feasting of Brahmans. To the Westerner these ceremonies may seem to serve no purpose other than draining the resources of poor families and

increasing pauperism and indebtedness in the land. There is, however, one undoubted purpose which they serve even in this world : they give occupation to the minds of the mourners and tend to relieve their sorrow and reconcile them to the void which they are otherwise, if left to pine for themselves, apt to feel too keenly during the period of mourning.

One of the last wishes expressed by the late Desai was that the privileges and emoluments of which the Government had deprived the family, should somehow be regained. He entrusted to Chuni a huge bundle of title-deeds and other documents, some of them professing to have been issued by the Great Moghul and his Deputies, which he asked to be thoroughly examined and used in the litigation against Government. This was an injunction which could not be transgressed. Much of the time which Chuni used to devote to the hearing of the Puran in the afternoons, she had now to devote to a study of these papers, which were read out to her by the Munim, he sitting in the *chok* and she occupying a seat in the *parsal* behind the *purdah*. She was not accustomed to make notes on paper, but every detail that was read out to her found a permanent place in her memory, and she could compare and contrast and sift the evidence set before her as if she had a printed and indexed edition of the numerous documents for reference. After Chuni had mastered all the intricacies and details of the voluminous legacy left behind him by her father-in-law, the case had to be placed before lawyers. They came to the Desai's house, heard all that the lady and the Munim had to say, admired the mental capacity and the intellectual acumen of the *pardanashin* lady, and, as is their wont, sat on the fence, inclining on the whole towards launching the suit, but taking care to remind their clients that the law is always uncertain, and in British courts the law is only that which is laid down after a great deal of litigation. Twenty thousand rupees would be the cost, if the most rigid economy was exercised and in case of a defeat at least three-fourths of that sum would have to be paid to Government. The litigation up to the last stage might take up ten years. Chuni shook her head, and took her own time to consider. A new thought now struck her. The Collector who had been a friend of the family and had favoured them with a visit on the occasion of her betrothal was now a Revenue Councillor; would it not be advisable to ask the Government to reconsider its previous order in the light of a representation to be drawn up by the lawyers and to save either party from the trouble and expense of a protracted suit? The lawyers drew up a long and copiously worded petition for ample consideration, and armed with it, the young Desai in his best visiting attire went to see the Collector. This mighty official inquired why he had come, and on hearing that the doom of the revenue officials was to be questioned in a court of law, smiled and politely bowed out the Desai with the ironical remark that he wished the bold young man every success in his enterprise. The Desai returned home in high dudgeon because the Collector had not given him a chair, and on receipt of a written reply to the petition, hastened to Bombay to appeal in person to the Revenue Councillor. This Anglo-Indian administrator of the good old school gave a seat to the son of his former friend, made kind inquiries about the family, sympathised with it in its mis-

fortunes, but thought that the law must take its own course; he would, however, suspend the operations of survey and settlement pending the litigation, as it might otherwise entail a large amount of unnecessary trouble and expenditure on Government. The Desai came back in high glee that his mission was at least partly successful, and especially because so high a personage had given him a chair to sit. Vague rumours of the Desai's influence in high quarters spread everywhere in the town and the Deputy Collector lost no opportunity of showing every mark of respect to the Desai short of crawling in the dust at his feet. It also began to be rumoured that Chuni must have been in correspondence with European ladies in very high quarters, and her Puran parties were with unusual alacrity patronised by the wives of native officials. The Tahsildar promised the Desai confidentially that he would help him with very valuable information during the litigation, and in fact the Desai felt after his return from Bombay that he was a very great man indeed. To launch the suit, Chuni found it necessary to sell some of the jewels in the vault—a vandalism resorted to on occasions of dire necessity, such as a famine—and with some more money borrowed from Sowcars, the bark of litigation was set afloat with a number of lawyers pleasantly taking their seats at the oars. The tribunal before which the weary tug of war had been commenced decided against the Desai, but the throw of the dice in the two higher temples of justice, in India and in England, brought good luck to the family, and in the long run the Desai scored. Sugar was distributed in the town, services were ordered in the local temples, Brahmans were feasted, and the vows that Chuni had vowed to ensure success in the enterprise were punctiliously performed. The day on which the decision of Her Majesty in Council was known in India was a red-letter day in the annals of the Desai family.

(To be continued.)

G. M. TRIPATHI.

EDITORIAL NOTE.

Poverty and Learning in India.

At a time when it is proposed to increase the cost of education to the student, it is natural to look back, as so many are looking back, upon the past, when knowledge, though mystified and vouchsafed to a few, was imparted for a comparatively small consideration, and sometimes for none, and to wish that we could follow that meritorious example of the ancient teachers. The past is generally irrevocable: can we revive it in the present instance? Though an early religious work of the Hindus speaks of some twenty branches of learning, and it is usual to read in Indian literature about the sixty-four arts, whenever we think of the relations between teacher and taught in ancient India, we think of the sacred learning of the Brahman. The model set up by him appears to have been imitated by others. All sacred things are *extra commercium*. The maker of the Hindu idol, and the supplier of the *Saligram* stones will not profess to sell the sacred objects: he makes a present of them on condition of his receiving in return an offering made to the God in the shape of money. So, too, sacred knowledge cannot be sold. Manu did not hold in high esteem the teacher who parted with his knowledge for lucre. But most teachers found that they could not get on without a give-and-take arrangement with their students, especially because the latter had not merely to be taught, but also to be fed. The poor student, who was taught free, paid a fee to his teacher when taking leave of him on the completion of his course. The richer student seems to have paid a fee in advance also. In one of the Buddhist books we read that the King of Benares sent his son at sixteen to Takkhasila—a great centre of learning which attracted thousands of students in those days—

giving him one-soled sandals, a sunshade of leaves and a thousand pieces of money. On the application of the student for admission the teacher asks : " Well, have you brought a teacher's fee, or do you wish to attend on me in return for teaching you ? " " I have brought a fee with me," replies the student, and lays his purse at the feet of the teacher. The author of the story continues and explains : " The resident pupils attend on their teacher by day, and at night they learn of him: but they who bring a fee are treated like the eldest sons in his house and thus they learn." What the King's son learnt we are not told : various were the arts taught at Takkhasila, for in another place in the same book we read of a Brahman student who learnt archery at that university. Thus, while the rich student paid for his education with money, the poor student paid for it with his services. With the disappearance of the old Kshatriyas, rich students who sought the sacred learning must have become fewer and fewer. Other kinds of knowledge have in later times descended from father to son, or been imparted from personal considerations based on relationship or friendship. It is well known that in the West, as in the East, learning was once confined to the poor, the rich man disdaining the vulgar accomplishment of the scribe. The earliest colleges in Europe were institutions designed for the maintenance of necessitous students. When the rich man had to lay down his bow, when militarism had to retire before industrialism, when even the warrior found that his strength no longer lay in the development of his muscle, learning began to attract rich customers, and we know how rich customers always embarrass their poorer fellow-creatures buying in the same market. The price of education has gone up in the West. In India, too, the old militarism has now disappeared. Class privileges are a thing of the past, and learning and the learned professions are the common property of all. The competition for education is free, and the rich man bids against his poor compatriot. The nature of what passes for education has also changed. It requires costlier methods, costlier appliances and costlier teachers. The knell of cheap education is tolled in India. The Universities Commission has no sympathy for the policy of bringing education within the reach of those to whom it is believed to do more harm than good. It is stated in quarters where sober and pro-governmental views prevail,

that the Government also is not without its apprehensions of the danger to the State that may arise if no limit is placed on the output of the Universities. We are evidently on the eve of some evolution, if not revolution, in which the current of intelligent poverty will be diverted from learning and the learned pursuits into—into what channels? Ay, there is the rub. If the poor man knocks at the gates of the University because he does not find better means of earning his livelihood than those to which the University prepares, and in a way entitles him, will the danger to the State be mitigated by flourishing the baton in the face of those who cannot be content and happy without the education, and providing reserved seats for those who can be happy without it? This is a serious question, and though the application of heroic remedies may suggest itself to superficial thinkers, and appeal to our first impulses, a little reflection is enough to conjure up before the mind's eye economic difficulties which incline us to leave matters where they are, and to allow society to work out its own salvation. Poverty will not consent to be shut up in a Black Hole; if you close one door, you must simultaneously open another door for it. We do not wish to sound any unnecessary note of alarm. If we have the patience to go into figures, we may after all find only a rope in the place of the serpent which our imagination so tremblingly discerns in the menace which the Universities Commission has held out to ambitious poverty. The maximum fee in Government Colleges, which the Commission approves of, is Rs. 12 a month. Private Colleges may levy 75 per cent. of it. If, then, the maximum for such Colleges be Rs. 9, what will the minimum be? Perhaps Rs. 6 or 7. The staunchest advocates of poor students in India have expressed themselves in favour of a rate of Rs. 5 in the B. A. classes. In spite, therefore, of the vague dread which has been inspired by the general propositions laid down by the majority of the Commissioners—a dread which has been intensified by the attitude of the dissentient member—it may turn out that no cataclysm will really shake the foundations of higher education. Yet that the goddess of learning should spurn the devotees that have remained faithful to her from time immemorial, and should woo rich fields and pastures *few*, is a result of the contact of the East with the West, to which people in India will be slow to reconcile themselves.

CURRENT EVENTS.

THE opposition to the recommendations of the Universities Commission has been the strongest in Bengal ; Madras comes next, while in Bombay, the United Provinces and the Punjab, though the press has not failed to comment upon the objectionable portions of the Commission's Report, no public body, so far as has yet transpired, seems to have sent in a protest, nor has any public meeting been held for that purpose. The largest number of second-grade Colleges are to be found in Bengal and in Madras, and the largest number of Colleges where education is given on terms which the Commission considers too cheap are probably also situated in the same two provinces. When it is observed that the recommendations relating to second-grade Colleges, and to the fees to be levied by the Colleges, are among those which have created the greatest amount of alarm, the explanation of the difference in the attitude of the different provinces does not seem to be far to seek. The "officialising" of the Universities and the stereotyping of the courses of study are also measures to which strong exception has been taken. The general opinion about the Report is that expressed in this journal, namely, that on the whole, the Commission's recommendations are calculated to place University teaching on a more efficient footing, to which the dissentient public opinion adds the rider that to efficiency the Commission has sacrificed other considerations which are of an equally imperative nature in the present circumstances of the country.



The Bombay Government is about to enter upon a task of stupendous magnitude : it is the preparation of what may be called a Domesday Book of Rights in Land. It may be an admirable virtue not to know when one is beaten, but it is sheepish not to find out when one's land has passed into other hands. Yet it often happens that the ignorant cultivator in India transfers all his right in his ancestral acres, to the sowcar, and nevertheless allows his name to stand in the records of the Government as "registered occupant," thereby holding himself responsible for the payment of the assessment, in the belief that as long as his name is not removed from the books of the Government, he continues to have a right to

redeem the land if he so chooses. The preservation of a correct record of rights, where no such fiction as an occupant who does not occupy is recognised, may open the eyes of the ryot on the one hand, and on the other, enable the Government to protect its conscience by receiving tax only from those from whom it is equitably due. Then again, in granting loans or remissions, the Government ought to see that it is not imposed upon by the well-to-do sowcar taking shelter behind the starving ryot. The record will also show how far the beneficial occupation of land is passing into the hands of capitalists and speculators. For the preparation of such a record, the Executive Government must be invested with certain powers, such as that of compelling persons to give the revenue officials the requisite information. The Record of Rights Bill, which was introduced at the last meeting of the Bombay Legislative Council, makes the failure to give such information penal.



The preparations for the Delhi Durbar are progressing apace. It will be the grandest ceremonial ever witnessed in India. To invite a number of Princes, representatives of the people and officials from each province, to read out the King-Emperor's proclamation to them, and to send them away, would have been a Durbar too. But India would not have required a Lord Curzon to organise a State function in that beggarly style. The ascetic delights to caricature the Prince's magnificence. Indian papers that do not care to realise the sublime about the Viceroy's great conception of the *tamasha* have been making merry over the opposite aspect of it. Some went so far as to question the propriety of asking the sons of Native Chiefs to attend on the Viceroy as pages. Lord Curzon, however, only follows a precedent created by Lord Lytton. It is apprehended that many a prince and nobleman whose purses are shallow will feel greatly embarrassed by the honour of an invitation to the Durbar. In former times loyalty had to be proved by draining one's veins : it has to be proved now by draining one's purse. What the Government will gain by such a proof of loyalty, is another question.



The whole round of ceremonies connected with the Durbar will last for a fortnight. Besides the principal ceremony, which will consist of the reading of the Royal Proclamation, the Viceroy's address and the presentation of the ruling Chiefs, and the ceremony of opening the Art Exhibition, the guests will witness a state entry into Delhi on elephants and in carriages—cars would give a more Indian appearance to the procession—an illumination, a chapter of the Indian Orders, a State Service, a review of troops, retainers, elephants and followers of the Native Chiefs, a State Ball, a review of British and Indian troops numbering about 40,000, and official receptions and banquets for the Native Chiefs and gentry and for the foreign guests,

and amusements of sorts. The severe moralist of the West once delighted to hold up the barbaric splendour of the East to ridicule, and India was about to forget herself and her elephants. But Lord Curzon interprets the old East to the new East—an interesting lesson, which would be more interesting if it did not cost so much to the learners.



There is not merely a subterranean unrest in our planet, but the political world in the West is also charged with electricity. Where it will discharge itself, the statesmen who know the inner workings of the various Governments must know best. But the latest telegrams would of course lead one to locate the spot somewhere in South-Eastern Europe. If that be the line of least resistance for political ambition, we need not apprehend the predicted and threatened dangers nearer home.

CORRESPONDENCE.

MAN AND WOMAN AS ONE.

To the Editor, EAST & WEST.

SIR,—What a curiously interesting coincidence it is that the same number of *East & West* should contain the summing up of the whole matter by 'Artaxerxes' and the excellent account of Mrs. Swiney's re-assertion of the claims of her sex; and how contemptible, after all, is the dispute between the sexes, even though it has lasted from the earliest dawn of history or even from the original arrival of articulate man upon the earth—it doesn't do now to speak of his (or her) creation! For surely the author of Genesis really proves the absolute equality of the sexes once for all when he attributes to the Creator the words—"Let us make man" (evidently including woman) "in our image, after our likeness," and ends by saying that "God created man" (again including woman) "in his own image, in the image of God created he him, male and female created he them," making no vain distinctions between the two.

It is, indeed, impossible, if not absurd, to compare the sexes: madness to make them rivals; "united they stand: divided they fall." They are complementary and indispensable to each other: practically good-for-nothing apart. "Where," says the sagacious Artemus Ward, "where should I and my immortal show have been without woman?" Well does Paul Iné say, "there is nothing better for man's salvation than the fullest possible development of woman, brain and heart," (but especially heart), "body and soul; every time that he imagines such a perfected being he praises God" (his highest ideal of goodness); "with every step that he makes towards realising such an one he approaches nearer Heaven." It may even be imputed for righteousness to the ineffable Mrs. Eddy that she has popularised the idea of a Father-Mother God.

Yours truly,
J. B. PENNINGTON.





30/3/54